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1

A SYRIAC VALENTINIAN HYMN

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EPIPHANIUS prefixes to the account of the Valentinians which he copied from Irenaeus a brief account of his own composition, presumably based upon a document then in his hands, and subjoins a copy of a portion of this document. It is of peculiar interest as being one of the very few scraps of Valentinian literature that have survived and the only one that deals at any length with the essential features of the system. Yet it has been strangely ignored by modern students of Gnosticism; indeed the only recent study of it known to me is that of Otto Dibelius (*Studien zur Geschichte der Valentinianer: II. Der Valentinianische Sendbrief*, in *ZNTW* 9 (1908), p. 329-340), in which he provides a translation of the very difficult text with a brief discussion of the doctrine and of its place in the history of Valentinianism.

The anonymous author gives a list of the Greek names of the thirty Aeons differing somewhat from those preserved by Irenaeus (1. 1. 2-3; p. 8-11) and Hippolytus (6. 29-30).¹ The document concludes with a series of words, written in Greek letters but not Greek in form, which Epiphanius supposed to be the original names of the Aeons, the Greek names being translations of these. His statement seems not to have been questioned by any one until the appearance of Holl's edition of the *Panarion*. In a footnote (p. 385) Holl says:—

The language of the fragment is Aramaic with Jewish coloring, but the forms of the several words are so corrupted that a complete reconstruction seems impossible. J. Marquart and H. Gressmann think, however, that they are able to recognize with approximate certainty that 'Aṛāp (l. 'Aṛāp)

¹ References to 'Irenaeus,' 'Hippolytus,' 'Epiphanius' signify the *adversus Haereses*, the *Refutatio*, and the *Panarion*. Quotations from the Greek text of Irenaeus and Epiphanius follow the text of Karl Holl's new edition (1915), *Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 25, pt. 1: *Epiphanius*, vol. 1, but references to the *adv. Haer.*, unless otherwise indicated, are to Massuet's paragraphs and the pages of Harvey's first volume. Quotations from Hippolytus follow the text of Duncker and Schneidewin.

Βαρβὰ should be taken as equivalent to חגר כחרבא (he girded on his sword), Ἐσλήν (l. Ἐσδήν) Οὐδαναν to חסרין ויחננין (favor and compassion), Λαναφέκ Οὐδινφέκ to לנפק וינפק (for him who is going out and him who has gone out). This makes it at once evident that the formula contains at all events not names of Aeons, but a continuous sentence or sentences. The 'translation' of Epiphanius is therefore quite as worthless as that propounded *Haer.* 19. 4. 3; p. 221, 13 ff.

Epiphanius gives two copies of this list in his introductory account and a third in his copy of the original document. The MS tradition is therefore derived from three distinct sources and the variants which it presents show that the three lists were in large measure copied independently and not corrected one by another, a circumstance which makes much easier the reconstruction of the underlying text.

According to Holl (*TU*, no. 36, pt. 2, 1910) the text of the *Panarion* rests upon two MSS, the Vaticanus (V) and the Marcianus (M), all others being derived from them. V is of the beginning of the ninth century, M was written A.D. 1057. V has been corrected by a nearly contemporary scholar, who introduced readings, sometimes valuable, from one or more MSS which he had at his disposal.

There are then six more or less independent witnesses to the text, V, V1, M, M1 being Epiphanius's first two copies in V and M respectively, and V2, M2 his copy in the text of the document.

I give Holl's text (H), the word-divisions recognized by him being indicated by periods, and place beneath it the variant readings of the six witnesses so arranged as to bring each letter under the corresponding letter of Holl's text. Letters to which nothing there corresponds are additions; omission of letters accepted by Holl is indicated by a minus sign. In the uppermost line I have placed my own emendations (N).

Epiphanius, *Panarion*; *haer.* 31. 2: vol. 1, p. 385, 2.

N	ΑΛΩ	N	O	T	Λ	A	O
H	A M Ψ I O T.	A T P A A N.	B O T K O T A.	Θ A P A O T O T.			
V2			—				
M2		O	—			— O	
V							
M							
V1							
M1							
N		Λ		PH			
H	O T B O T K O T A.	Θ A P A E Δ Δ E I N.	M E P E Z A.				
V2							
M2				—			
V			A	—	H		
M			A	—			
V1			A	—	H		
M1			A	—	H		

N H B B A O T X Δ
 H A T A P. B A P B A. O T Δ O T A K. E Σ T H N
 V2 K A
 M2
 V
 M
 V1 O T -
 M1 O T -
 N ----- Δ Δ Ω N - H
 H [O T Δ O T O T A K. E Σ Λ H N.] [A M Φ A I N.
 V2 - - X - E -
 M2 Σ E
 V
 M
 V1 -
 M1 -
 N E Σ Σ O T M E N.] O T A N A N I N. Λ A M E P T A P Δ E.
 H Δ I -
 V2 Γ -
 M2
 V
 M
 V1
 M1
 N Δ A I O P K
 H A Θ A M E Σ. Σ O T M I N. A Λ Λ Ω P A. K O T B I A Θ A.
 V2 H
 M2
 V Σ - B K
 M E B K
 V1
 M1 H
 N A M - Δ A N
 H Δ A N A Δ A P I A. Δ A Δ
 V2 - - Δ Δ A M M Ω.
 M2
 V Δ A Λ Λ Ω P A
 M Δ A Λ Λ Ω P A Δ
 V1 Δ A M Ω N M Δ N - - - -
 M1 Δ A M Ω M Δ N - - - -
 N Δ A N A Φ E K. O T Δ I N Φ E K. N E
 H Ω P H N. Δ A N A Φ E K. A X E M Φ I
 V2 N X N E Θ I
 M2 N E
 V X A A M X
 M X A M X N E
 V1 A M X
 M1 A M X
 N P Θ -
 H B O X E. B A P P A. A Σ Σ I O T. A X E. B E A I M.
 V2
 M2
 V T - Δ
 M T - Δ - - A E
 V1 - - - -
 M1 - - - -
 N M I N - -
 H Δ E Ξ A P I X E. M A Σ E M Ω N.
 V2 M - -
 M2 M N - -
 V N - -
 M I N - -
 V1
 M1

The text proves to be a fragment of a Syriac poem consisting of stanzas composed of eight verses, each of five or six syllables. One complete stanza and seven verses of a second still remain. The poem was a Valentinian hymn, and, of the two stanzas, the first celebrates the deeds of the 'Celestial Light' and the second those of the 'Celestial Firmament.'

αλλώιο νούρα αυ	ܟܠܐ ܝܫܝܬܐ ܟܠܐ	That Celestial Light
βουκούλθαρ αουό ου	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܟܠܐ	Came to be in every Place,
ουβουκούλθαρ δέδδερη	ܟܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܟܠܐ	And in every Place in which he was diffused,
μερέξα αταβ βάββα	ܟܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܟܠܐ	From the Head he pro- claimed tidings about the Father,
5 ουάουνα χέσδην	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	And he showed kindness
λαδώνη έσσουμεν	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	To the Aeons, contending,
ουανάνιν λαμέρτα	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	And mercies to the Lady
δεάθα μεσσουλάϊν	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	Who came from Rejected Ones.
αλλώιο αρουκία	ܟܠܐ ܝܝܠܐ ܟܠܐ	The Celestial Firmament
10 θάαμ λαάριαν	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	Restrained strife
λαάλμω ώρην	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	Among the Ages, quarreling ;
δανάφεκ ουα άνφεκ	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	That which was going out he expelled ;
ένφει βοχεράθα	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	The Sprays bringing forth first fruits
άσσι ουαχεβέλιμ	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	He healed, and [any?] cor- rupted ones
15 δεξάρι χέμμασιν	ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܐ	Which were beginning to wither

NOTES²

The MS tradition is surprisingly accurate. The original text was written with great care, the author endeavoring to express the exact sounds as he heard them without reference to any customary system of phonetic equivalents, and the greater number of the corruptions can be explained as due to resemblances between the letters of the uncial script. I have therefore in

² My friend the Editor, Prof. J. A. Montgomery, has been so kind as to read these notes, making a few corrections and adding a number of valuable suggestions.

several cases retained the spelling of the MSS even when it is difficult to explain and interpret and when simple emendations would remove the difficulties.

v. 1, 9: *αλλωιο*: the corrupt forms AMΨIO and AΛΛΩΠ correspond almost stroke for stroke, although the identification of Ψ and Ω is questionable. For the doubled -λ- see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* 2d ed., p. 13: 'Als verdoppelt hat so ziemlich jeder Consonant zu gelten, dem ein kurzer Vocal vorhergeht und irgend ein Vocal folgt.' The *a*-sound is expressed by *o* in this word and in v. 2 *αουο* but not elsewhere; by *ω* in v. 6 *λαδωνη*, v. 11 *ωρην* and perhaps v. 11 *λααλμω*. The -ι- is consonantal here and in v. 10 *λααριαν*; elsewhere it is a vowel.

v. 1-2: *νourα αυ*: this represents the readings of the majority of the texts and gives the better sense; the demonstrative implies that the author expects his readers to understand what is meant by the 'Celestial Light.' But the meter requires that in reading the final -α of *νourα* be elided. The pronunciation, therefore, would be the same as that of the alternative reading *νourαν* which would represent ܢܘܪܐܢ, in which the ܢܐ is the enclitic pronoun, emphasizing the preceding word. But in v. 2 the *ou* repeats the subject.

v. 2, 3: -*βου*:- v. 8, -*σου*:- v. 9, -*ρου*:- in the Palestinian dialects of Aramaic the Syriac *šwa* is not infrequently represented by *u*, e. g. *עוברא קודם חולף* (Duval, *Gr.* p. 90, n. 3; Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 22 (1868), p. 458-9).

v. 2: *αουο ου*: all texts save one have *δουου*, which should represent ܕܘܘܐܢܐ. But for this construction there seems to be no authority; moreover it would offend against both the meter and the thought of the verse, for ' *u u* ' is not a permissible form and the sense requires a past tense. M2 has *δοου* and I have ventured to take this as evidence of the loss of an -ο-.

v. 3: *ου*:- in view of the care with which vocalic *šwa* is throughout represented by some Greek vowel, this *ου*- must be regarded as a vowel, analogous to the Hebrew idiom (Dalman, *Gram.* p. 191: 'According to Socin's Codex 84 of Targum Onkelos, *u* is always pronounced *u* before *u*, *u*, *u*, and before non-gutturals except *u* if they have *š'wa*, which then disappears,' i. e. is silent). So also v. 5: *ουάουονα* ܘܐܘܘܢܐ. But v. 7, *ουανάνυ* may represent either ܘܐܢܐܢܐ or ܘܐܢܐܢܐ.

the assimilation takes place except when the consonant is Alaf, He, Heth, Yodh, Nun, 'E, Pe. The failure to double the ρ is also according to rule (Noeld., § 21). But $\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$ for $\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\beta$ requires explanation. The use of α for ϵ probably merely indicates that the vowel-sound was obscure; still more surprising is the appearance of α in place of an ι or η in v. 6, $\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ for $\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$. The same inference may be drawn from the spellings of some words in the Jewish Palestinian dialect e. g. *Pa.* שֵׁלם: *Aph.* אספך. אקרם. אח'שר. of which Dalman remarks (p. 206, n. 2): 'Whether one may infer pronunciation with α from spelling without Yodh remains uncertain. The supralinear vocalisation recognizes this pronunciation only in case of gutturals.'

The failure to double the τ is a much more serious matter. In every other case where Syriac requires that a letter be doubled in pronunciation the doubling is scrupulously indicated, e. g. $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota\sigma$, $\delta\epsilon\delta\delta\epsilon\rho\eta$, $\beta\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$, $\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu$, $\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$, not to speak of its being indicated where not called for in Syriac, $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\chi\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$. Its omission here is probably due to the structure of the verse, which permits only two accents and requires the elision of either the final syllable of $\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ or the first of $\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$. Thus the two words were pronounced as one with but one accent, $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\tau\alpha\beta$. Since the doubling of the τ is not organic but is due to the presence of the accent upon the 'weak' prefix (Duval, §§ 113, 157) the loss of the accent should entail the omission of the doubling.

v. 4: $\beta\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$: Duval, § 224a: 'Dans le sens figuré de "père spirituel" ܒܬܐ avait le beth redoublé.' For the construction, cf. PS (*Thes.* col. 432): $\text{ܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ}$ de eo BO III. 2, 208; rogavit eum [quid sentiret] ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ de religione Arabum, ib. II, 423.'

v. 5: Holl, at Marquart's suggestion, recognizes the duplication of this line (see p. 3) as due to a marginal gloss. The dittograph which he brackets contains, however, the purer text.

v. 5: $\chi\epsilon\sigma\delta\eta\nu$: Heth occurs seven times. Twice, in this word and v. 14, $\chi\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\iota\mu$, it is represented by χ ; four times, v. 4, $\sigma\alpha\sigma\sigma\upsilon\alpha$, v. 7, $\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\iota\nu$, v. 10, $\theta\alpha\alpha\mu$ and $\lambda\alpha\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\nu$, by hiatus; once, v. 6, when initial, it has no representative, $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$. The m. pl. abs. occurs seven times; in six cases the ending is obviously \leftarrow , although spelled in four ways (v. 5, 11, $-\eta\nu$; v. 6, $-\epsilon\nu$; v. 7,

8, -ιν; v. 15, -ειν); the sole exception, v. 14, -ιμ, is probably due to textual corruption and is not recognized in the transliteration.

v. 6: Holl and Marquart bracket the words ΑΜΦΑΙΝ ΕΣΣΟΥΜΕΝ as a gloss upon ΑΘΑ ΜΕΣΣΟΥΜΕΝ.

v. 6: λαδωνη: 'E occurs five times. Twice, v. 1, 9, αλλωιο, v. 13, ενφει, as initial it is unrepresented; twice, v. 9, αρουκια, v. 11 λααλμω, it is represented by hiatus. In λαδωνη it disappears altogether, allowing the vowels between which it stood to contract. This indicates that it had here its softer sound, approximating that of Alaf, and this, again, is confirmed by the Palestinian Aramaic words אֲדִינָא, אֲדִינָא, which contain the same root (Dalman, p. 70).

v. 6: εσσουνεν: there are three occurrences of the *Pe*. act. part. m. pl. abs., the others being v. 11, ωρην and v. 15 χεμμασειν. The f. pl. emph. occurs once, v. 13, βοχεραθα. In the three which come from trilateral roots the *šwa*, which would be silent in Syriac (Duval, *Gr.* § 100), is expressed by -ov-, -a-, -e-. This is not a case of negligence but represents an earlier pronunciation, still found in the Aramaic of the Onkelos MS, Cod. Socin 84, the pointing of which indicates that in such inflected forms of the participle the second radical was pronounced with a semi-vowel (Dalman, *Gram.* p. 55-56). For the doubling of the second radical in these participial forms there seems to be no direct parallel. Since the short, closed syllables followed by vocalic *šwa* έσ-σουνεν, χέμ-μασειν are equivalent in value to the corresponding long open syllables ά-σουνεν, χά-μασειν, it may be that the former spellings represent merely peculiarities in pronunciation on the part of the transcriber.

v. 7-8: λαμερτα δεαθα: these words present several difficulties. If, -μερτα be a feminine noun -αθα should be -αθαθ. But the only masculine noun corresponding to -μερτα لَمَرْتَا yields no sense (PS *Lex.* 'the plucking out, pulling off' of hair or feathers: 'baldness; plumes, fine apparel'). If a feminine it corresponds most closely to لَمَرْتَا (*op. cit.*: 'bitterness, gall, bile'). This also yields no sense. The preceding words, 'showed mercies to,' indicate that the complementary idea must be that of a person, and لَمَرْتَا 'Lady,' gives just the meaning required, for this 'Lady' is of course the fallen Sophia of the Valentinians. To

this identification several objections present themselves. (1) The first vowel of the word ܙܩܦܐ is *Zqafa*, which was pronounced by the Nestorians as *ā*, by the Jacobites as *ō*. It may be alleged that, while a short *ă* (*Pthakha*) often passes into *e* in Syriac, a long *ā* (*Zqafa*) never does. Moreover, the word occurs in Greek letters elsewhere, e. g. in the NT, as the proper name, *Μαρθα*, which shows that the first vowel was an *a*, although it leaves its quantity undetermined. (2) The usual equivalent of Taw is *θ*, as in *Μαρθα*; *τ* ought to represent Teth. As regards the first objection: the history of vowel-change, both in quantity and quality, in Syriac, is involved in such obscurity that the rules of the grammarians can seldom be regarded as authoritative. Even the grammarians themselves often cannot agree upon fundamental issues. Thus Duval teaches that distinctions of quantity have been virtually so merged into those of quality as to have lost all significance (p. 44). Nöldeke is more cautious; he does not deny the existence of vowel-quantity in Syriac, but he does deny that the utterances of the Syrian grammarians on the subject are entitled to any weight (*Syr. Gram.* p. 9). David lays strong emphasis on the quantity of vowels (p. 185 f), and intimates in a footnote (p. 192) that the blunders of Duval, Nöldeke, and other European Orientalists are due to their ignorance of the proper pronunciation of the Oriental languages. His own treatment of the subject is neither clear nor consistent, but apparently he recognizes in the Nestorian pronunciation no difference in quality between *Pthakha* and *Zqafa* but only in quantity, while among the Jacobites they differ in quality, as *a* from *o*, and each may be either long or short. Similar differences of opinion are found with reference to the question now at issue, namely the quantity of the 'long' vowel in a closed syllable. David says (p. 209) that at the present time both Jacobites and Nestorians make such a vowel short (*mōrta*, *mārta*); Nöldeke (p. 29) attributes this tendency to the Nestorians, and Barhebraeus bears witness that in the 13th century the same confusion was prevalent among them. Duval cannot admit Barhebraeus's evidence, which is fatal to his own theory, and is driven to the desperate expedient of assuming that, with the exception of a few cases. (p. 77) 'c'est son oreille qui est en défaut et son raisonnement qui est mauvais, car les nuances de *ā* et *à* étaient parfaitement sensibles,

en dehors même du redoublement.' In general, (p. 92) 'ce serait une erreur de croire . . . que les Syriens abrégéaient la voyelle dans une syllabe fermée . . . Il y avait . . . plutôt là une oscillation entre les sons clairs et les sons obscurs.'

These differences of opinion are due in part to the fact that the vowel-points introduced in the 8th century do not adequately represent the sounds of the language and in part to the fact that the sounds which they do represent cannot be reduced to a coherent system. Yet they are themselves intended to simplify and standardize current pronunciation. They cannot therefore afford conclusive evidence as to the pronunciation of a period long anterior to that in which they were adopted. The evidence of the new fragment confirms this inference. Setting aside the question as to the precise phonetic values of the Greek letters at the time when and the place where the transcription was made, it manifestly does not bear witness to the simple and rigid scheme of the 8th century grammarians. The *u*-sounds are represented by *ov*, the *i*- and *e*-sounds by *ε*, *ι*, *ει*, *η*, seemingly without distinction; even the long, accented *i* of the pass. part. has *ε* (*χεβέλιμ*). Twice *e* appears as *α* (*αριαν*, *αλλωιο*). *Pthakha* is generally *α* but once *ε* (*ενφει*). *Zqafa* seems to possess the least stability. Usually it is *α*, but twice *ω* (*αλλωιο*, *ωρην*) [thrice ? *αλμω*], twice *ο* (*αλλωιο*, *βοχεραθα*) [thrice ? *αουο*], twice *ε* followed by a doubled consonant (*εσσονμεν*, *χεμμασεν*). Vocalic *šwa* is *ov*, *α*, *ε*. The bearing of these facts upon the problems of Syriac phonetics I must leave to those more competent to judge, for the subject lies far outside my proper field. But this, at least, one may infer—the fact that the grammarians of the 8th century pointed ܡܪܬܐ with *Zqafa* does not prove that the tendency to pronounce it *mārta*, which has been present from the 13th century to the present day among the Nestorians, originated after the pointing was adopted. It may well, indeed, have been found in some dialects many centuries earlier. The change of *α* to *ε* in a closed syllable is very common in Syriac. Duval asserts (p. 79) that it never takes place when the syllable is closed by a guttural or an *r*. That it sometimes does is shown by the first word of the phrase ܡܪܕܐ ܕܝܡܐ *mārde yawma*, which is so pronounced by the Nestorians while to the Jacobites it is *mērde*. One should also note that in the two occurrences of vocalic *šwa* before *r* in the poem it is

expressed by ϵ (δεδδερη, βοχεραθα) which shows that the author is not conscious of any especial preference for an a -sound before r .

The use of τ for Taw may be explained on similar principles. The author, as his practice elsewhere shows, is not following any accepted system of transliteration, and it may well be that τ rather than θ expressed to his ear the sound of the hard, non-aspirated Taw in ܬܐ. If -μερτα means

'lady,' -αθα should probably be emended into -αθα<θ>. But forms without the final Taw occur in Babylonian Aramaic; those, for example, of ܐܬܐ are given by Levias (*A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1900, § 601) as ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, ܐܬܐ, and -αθα, therefore, is not absolutely impossible.

v. 8: μεσσοιλάιν: one is tempted to emend -σοιλάιν into the classical Syriac word ܡܫܠܐν σουλαν, which is derived from the Lamadh-Alaf root ܡܠ, or into σούλιαν, which would be derived from the same root treated as Lamadh-Yodh. The meaning of both would be the same, 'dross, dirt, refuse'—a singularly apt designation, from the Valentinian point of view, of the results of sin in the Pleroma. Yet, as I try to show in the commentary (p. 26) μεσσοιλάιν gives the passage a meaning for which indirect support can be found in extant sources. In classical Syriac the *Peal* pass. part. m. pl. abs. would be ܡܫܠܐ, but forms analogous to that of the text occur in Babylonian Aramaic (Levias, § 560, ܡܫܠܐ, ܡܫܠܐ, ܡܫܠܐ) and also in Biblical Aramaic (Kautzsch, p. 80E).

v. 11: λααλω: the -ω is probably due to corruption of -ε or -ει but possibly represents a transition form between the primitive ܠܡܠܐ and the classical ܠܡܠܐ, such as -a or -ai, assimilated in quality to the following ω. Compare the Babylonian spelling ܠܡܠܐ, ܠܡܠܐ which Levias (§ 989a) points ܠܡܠܐ, ܠܡܠܐ. Instead of λααλω, δααλω might be read.

v. 11: ωρη; v. 15: -ξαρ: for the failure to double -p- see Nöldeke, *Gram.* § 21.

v. 12: δαναφεκ ονα: the imperfect tense compounded of the present participle and the enclitic ܐܢ sometimes expresses an act or event regarded from a point of view in the past as imminent (Nöldeke, *Gram.* p. 208). It is in this sense that the form must here be taken (see the commentary, p. 26).

v. 12: *ανφεκ*: in Babylonian Aramaic, according to Leviaš (§ 374), the 𐤀 frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals, emphatic consonants, sibilants, 𐤁, 𐤅 and 𐤆. The -φ- probably represents the unaspirated Syriac *p*, which was much less emphatic than the Greek π.

v. 13: *ενφει*: the word may also be transliterated ^{٢٣}ٱ٢٣ *πρόσωπα*, 'Personalities,' and this also makes fairly satisfactory sense. But in view of the participle *βοχεραθα* the proposed reading is preferable, for 'bearing first fruits' is an attribute appropriate to sprays but not to personalities.

v. 13: *βοχεραθα*: both MSS have Υ for Θ in the first list (VM), P in the second (V1M1), and PP in the third (V2M2). This shows that both are descended from a common archetype in which the same name was written in three different ways, which, again, proves that the scribe of that archetype copied faithfully what he thought he saw before him without trying to correct one list by another. The error perhaps arose in the first copy, probably made by a professional scribe, from Epiphanius's—presumably cursive—autograph.


v. 14: *χεβέλιμ*: is quite certainly the passive participle. The active, ^{ܚܒܠܐ} would mean 'in travail' which is not appropriate to sprays; moreover, judging from the analogy of *εσσομεν* and *χεμμασειν*, it would be spelled *χέββελιμ*.

v. 15: *δεξαρι*: The representation of šin by ξ, here and v. 4 -*ρεξα*, is, so far as I can learn, not found elsewhere. The 3. m. pl. ending *a* is not represented. This may indicate that it was not pronounced at all or that it was a consonantal *w* which could not be represented in Greek letters. The latter is the view of Duval (p. 55: 'à défaut de preuves contraires, on devra s'en tenir à la prononciation reçue *ew, iw*') and of David, whose opinion, as being *orientalis homo* (p. 189), is of especial interest (p. 189: 'Veras diphthongos non habent Syri, sed cum jodh et waw apud eos sunt verae consonantes, lingua Syriaca syllabas habet quarum consonans finalis est jodh vel waw . . . in quibus . . . secunda littera non est vocalis sed consonans'). Nöldeke takes the former view (*Gram. Syr.* p. 26: '◌ und ◌ sind beide viel zu vocalisch, als dass sie im Auslaut einer Silbe wahre Consonanten sein könnten; sie bilden dann stets einfache Vocale oder Diphthonge, also . . . *galliu* [nicht *galliw*], etc.').

v. 15: *χεμμασεν*: -μμ- with V2M2, after the analogy of v. 6, *εσσουνμεν*. The -EIN of M explains the -EM of V2 and is probably the true reading. The final syllable -ων which Holl takes from V1M1 is obviously a dittograph, for Epiphanius proceeds: *ὧν ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνεῖαι εἰσιν αἷδε*.

The syntax of the poem presents nothing worthy of note except the rather free use of the case absolute, which is such as to suggest that it has not as yet lost its proper meaning. The conceptions which are unquestionably clearly defined to the reader are all in the emphatic *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*. Three which ought to be indefinite are in the absolute *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*, *ܠܚܝܬܐ*. Two which might be conceived as defined are in the absolute *ܠܚܝܬܐ* and *ܠܚܝܬܐ* both of which designate the same things. Whether the use of the absolute here has any significance, throwing the concepts in question out of the focus of consciousness into the margin, so to speak, it is not possible to determine. So also of the active participles. Two of the three, *ܠܚܝܬܐ* and *ܠܚܝܬܐ* should, according to rule, be taken as predicates, equivalent to *ܠܚܝܬܐ*? *ܠܚܝܬܐ*? which I have indicated in translation by placing a comma between them and the nouns they modify, but the third, *ܠܚܝܬܐ* which seems to be a parallel construction, tends to discredit this inference and to indicate that there is no real difference of meaning between the two cases. The choice between them may be determined by other factors, possibly metric or euphonic, the value of which we cannot appreciate.

Each verse contains two accented and three or four unaccented syllables. Vocalic *šwa* belonging to the word proper is not counted as a syllable: following the prefixes *ܥܡܝܢ* it may or may not be, seemingly at pleasure. The metre corresponds to that termed by Grimme 'Grundform 2' (*Collectanea Friburgensia, Fasc. II, Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephraems des Syrsers*, 1893, p. 5), but differs from it in that the rhythmic scheme which Grimme regards as fundamental, that is, as most frequent, 'u'u'u, occurs five times only (v. 2, 8, 10, 13, 14); that which he makes an infrequent substitute u'u'u'u occurs twice (v. 4, 12), while the eight remaining verses (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15) fall under the second of his other two substitutes u'u'u. Of the fourth scheme, 'uuu'u, no example occurs.

Each verse contains five or six syllables. If the final syllable of  in v. 9 be elided, the numerical scheme for the first stanza would be 55565556, and for the second, 5556555, from which one may infer that the missing last verse of the stanza also contained six syllables and that the scheme for the first is that for all the stanzas of the poem. While this scheme is not found among Ephraem's poems (see Lamy's revised list in his *Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, vol. 4, Mechlin, 1902, p. 486-495), it is of the type used by him and other Syrian poets.³

COMMENTARY

Both stanzas deal with the same theme, the reconstitution of the Pleroma after its harmony had been destroyed by the appearance of sin within its borders. The first recounts the deeds of the Celestial Light, the second those of the Celestial Firmament, in this work of restoration.

Of this scene three more or less complete versions are extant. Irenaeus gives two (1. 2, § 1-2, p. 13-16; § 3-6, p. 16-23), intimating that the second is derived from a different source than the first (p. 16: *ἐνιοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτως τὸ πάθος τῆς Σοφίας καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν μυθολογοῦσιν*), and Hippolytus the third (6. 31, p. 274-278). A few incidents, some of which belong to other versions than the above, may be gleaned from other passages in Irenaeus and from Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto etc.* Nearly all the incidents to which the Syriac text alludes can be identified in one or another of the extant sources, but as a whole the system presupposed by the poem does not correspond to any Valentinian system hitherto recognized.


³ I classify the poem's structure in accordance with both of the rival theories as to the nature of Syriac verse because, in my opinion, no issue is raised between them. The fact that Syrian grammarians, and Syrian poets also, recognized in poetry only one formal principle—that of the number of syllables in a line—does not prove that no others were in use any more than the theories of those English prosodists who see in English verse no other rhythms than those formed by the sequence of accented and unaccented syllables prove that English poets are deaf to the subtle harmonies of quantities, consonantal qualities, assonances, pauses, and cadences. An English or German ear, accustomed to stress-rhythms, cannot doubt that they are present in Syriac poetry, even though the grammarians have not formulated the laws which govern them.

The 'Celestial Light,' or, more literally, the 'Light on High,' is that stream of revivifying spiritual consciousness which was emanated by the Father, the Abyss, in order to repair the ravages wrought by sin in the Pleroma. It is not mentioned in Irenaeus's first source; in his second and in that used by Hippolytus, its first manifestation is termed 'Christ-Holy Spirit.' It—or, more properly, he—is of course light, as are all spiritual beings, but at least some Valentinians called him 'Light' in a peculiar sense. Epiphanius, in his preliminary account, says (31. 4. 4; p. 388, 8 Holl; vol. 2, p. 140, Dindorf): ὃν δὴ [sc. Αἰῶνα] Σωτῆρα καλεῖν . . . εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πατρωνυμικῶς καλεῖσθαι Φῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνω Φῶς, and Irenaeus's language seems to be based upon similar terminology (1. 4. 1; p. 33): παραντίκα δὲ [sc. τὴν Σοφίαν] κενωθείσαν τοῦ . . . Χριστοῦ, ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός. Epiphanius's τὸ ἄνω φῶς is the precise equivalent of the term which I render 'The Celestial Light.'

The Celestial Light 'came to be in every Place.' 'Place' among the later Gnostics meant 'region' or 'Plane' of the spiritual world and every such 'region' is itself a spiritual being or angel (Iren. 1. 5. 2; p. 44: τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ οὐρανούς εἶναι νοερούς [νοητούς Holl] φασιν· ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται). But, since at the period to which the poem refers the Light had not as yet reached every region of the lower universe, the term here probably signifies the 'regions' of the Pleroma, that is, the Aeons. It is in this sense that it is used by Marcus (Iren. 1. 14. 1; p. 128): αὐτὴν τὴν πανυπερτάτην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων Τετράδα κατεληλυθῆναι σχήματι γυναικείῳ πρὸς αὐτόν (φρησι).

v. 3-4. The 'Head' is the first emanation of the Abyss, usually called Νοῦς or Μονογενής, but often Πατήρ or Ἀρχή (of which latter word the Syriac ܐܪܚܝܬ is an appropriate translation), because from him all the other Aeons are derived: (Iren. 1. 1. 1; p. 9) τὸν δὲ Νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ Μονογενῆ καλοῦσι καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων; (1. 8. 5; p. 75, transcribed from a Valentinian Commentary upon the prologue to St. John's Gospel) Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν τὴν τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν, καθ' ἣν τὰ πάντα προέβαλεν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθεται τὸ πρῶτον γεννηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ δὴ καὶ υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ θεὸν κέκληκεν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα ὁ Πατήρ προέβαλε σπερματικῶς.

It was 'from the Head' that the Light proclaimed tidings, for, being himself an emanation of Noûs, who alone knew the Father, he derived from him all that he proclaimed to the Aeons. But even this was not knowledge of the Father but only knowledge about him, namely, that he is unknowable: (Iren. 1. 2. 5; p. 21) τὸν Μονογενῆ πάλιν ἑτέραν προβαλέσθαι συζυγίαν κατὰ προμήθειαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἵνα μὴ ὁμοίως ταύτῃ πάθῃ τις τῶν Αἰώνων, Χριστὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς πῆξιν καὶ στηριγμὸν τοῦ Πληρώματος, ὑφ' ὧν καταρτισθῆναι <φασιν> τοὺς Αἰῶνας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν διδάξαι αὐτοὺς συζυγίας φύσιν,† ἀγεννήτου κατάληψιν γινώσκοντας ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἀναγορεῦσαι τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, ὅτι τε ἀχώρητος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκατάληπτος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἰδεῖν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἢ διὰ μόνου τοῦ Μονογενοῦς γινώσκεται τὸ δὲ [ἐν] Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξισωθέντας αὐτοὺς πάντας εὐχαριστεῖν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν <εἰς> γήγαστο.

v. 5-8. The 'kindness' which the Celestial Light showed the Aeons consisted in bringing them these tidings about the Father. The significance of the word 'contending' will be discussed later. The 'Lady who came from Rejected Ones' corresponds to the second Sophia or Achamoth of Irenaeus, called by Hippolytus (p. 282, 44) ἡ ἕξω Σοφία, who was composed of the ἔκτρομα or 'abortive offspring' of the first Sophia, or, as the Valentinians also called it, the first Sophia's ὑστέρημα or 'shortcoming'—that by which she fell short of attaining to the knowledge of the Father. While  does not reproduce the idea of either ἔκτρομα or ὑστέρημα, it is an appropriate designation for the dark mass of Ignorance which had been rejected and expelled from the Pleroma, as I shall presently endeavor to show. To Achamoth, Christ-Holy Spirit 'showed mercies,' for he took pity upon her wretched state and came to her from the Pleroma in order to give her some glimmering of an idea of the glory from which she had been cast out and to inspire in her a desire to return: (Iren. 1. 4. 1; p. 31) τὴν Ἐνθύμησιν τῆς ἄνω Σοφίας, ἣν καὶ Ἀχαμῶθ καλοῦσιν, ἀφορισθεῖσαν τοῦ <ἄνω> Πληρώματος σὺν τῷ πάθει λέγουσιν ἐν σκιᾷ καὶ κενώματος τόποις ἐκβεβράσθαι κατὰ ἀνάγκην· ἕξω γὰρ φωτὸς ἐγένετο καὶ Πληρώματος, ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος ὥσπερ ἔκτρομα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν κατεληφέναι. οἰκτεῖραντα δὲ αὐτὴν τὸν <ἄνω> Χριστὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἐκκαθέντα τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει μορφῶσαι μόρφωσιν, τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν μόνον ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν κατὰ γνῶσιν· καὶ πράξαντα τοῦτο ἀναδραμεῖν, συστείλαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ καταλι-

πεῖν <αὐτὴν>, ὅπως αἰσθομένη τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθους διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ Πληρώματος ὀρεχθῇ τῶν διαφερόντων, ἔχουσα τινὰ ὁδὸν ἀφθαρσίας ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν αὐτῇ <ὑπὸ> τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Compare also Hippolytus, 6. 31; p. 276, 50—278, 61.

The 'Celestial Firmament' or 'Firmament on High' is the 'Ὅρος, 'Boundary,' or Σταυρός, 'Stake' or 'Cross' of the Valentinians. To the Firmament four functions are ascribed in the poem:—

- (1) He restrained strife among the Aeons.
- (2) He expelled that which was going out, or about to go out.
- (3) He healed the Sprays bearing their firstfruits.
- (4) The corrupted ones, which were beginning to wither, he
—— (the verb is lacking).

Of the Valentinian conceptions of Horus four chief versions are extant, that of Valentinus himself, those of Irenaeus's two sources, and that given by Hippolytus.

Valentinus recognized two Ὅροι, one between the Pleroma and the Abyss and the other that which separates the fallen Sophia from the Pleroma (Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 100): Ὅρους τε δύο ὑπέθετο, ἓνα μὲν μεταξύ τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Πληρώματος, διορίζοντα τοὺς γεν<ν>ητοὺς Αἰῶνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεν<ν>ήτου Πατρός, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἀφορίζοντα αὐτῶν τὴν Μητέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος.

In Irenaeus's first source Horus is the boundary of the Pleroma. Sophia's sin consisted in seeking to know more of the Father than he had willed to have known; this is symbolized by describing her, that is to say her Thought or Intention (ἐνθύμησις), as striving to go out beyond the limits of the Pleroma and to penetrate into the very depths of the Abyss. Her presumptuous attempt was frustrated by Horus whose function it is to assure the stability of the universe by keeping it 'outside of' the Ineffable Vastness.

Iren. 1. 2. 2; p. 13-15) π ρ ο ῡ ἁ τ ο δὲ π ο λ ὺ ὁ [ὁ πολὺ Holl] τελευταῖος καὶ νεώτατος τῆς δωδεκάδος τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προβεβλημένης Αἰὼν τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία καὶ ἔπαθε πάθος ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιπλοκῆς τοῦ <συ> ζύγου τοῦ Θελητοῦ, ὃ ἐνήρξατο μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν ἀπέσκηψε δὲ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν παρατραπέντα, προφάσει μὲν ἀγάπης τὸλμης [1. τὸλμη Holl, τὸλμη N.] δέ, διὰ τὸ μὴ κεκοινωνῆσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ τελείῳ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Νοῦς. τὸ δὲ πάθος εἶναι ζήτησιν τοῦ Πατρός· ἤθελε γάρ, ὡς λέγουσι, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν. ἔπειτα μὴ δυνηθέντα διὰ τὸ

ἀδυνάτῳ ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγματι καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ ἀγῶνι γεόμενον
 ἐκτεινόμενον αἰ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ τῆς γλυκύτητος τελευταῖον
 ἂν καταπεπόσθαι καὶ ἀναλελύσθαι εἰς τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν, εἰ μὴ τῇ στηρι-
 ζούσῃ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἁρρήτου μεγέθους φυλασ-
 σούῃ τὰ ὅλα συνέτυχε δύναμει. ταύτην δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
 Ὅρον καλοῦσιν, ὅφ' ἥς ἐπεσχῆσθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι καὶ μόγις ἐπιστρέψαντα
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πεισθέντα, ὅτι ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν
 προτέραν ἐνθύμησιν σὺν τῷ ἐπιγενομένῳ πάθει ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπλήκτου ἐκείνου θαύ-
 ματος.

Irenaeus's second source does not describe Sophia's effort to penetrate into the Abyss as being frustrated by Horus; it fails because she has attempted an impossible task, and results in the production of a shapeless embryo; filled with distress, fear, agitation, and perplexity she turns to the Father for relief and the other Aeons join in her prayer. In reply the Father emanates Horus to remove the cause of the disorder in the Pleroma and thus to settle, re-establish and 'heal' not only Sophia but all the other Aeons, for they too are moved by the spectacle of her distress: (1. 2. 4; p. 19-20) διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὁρου τούτου φασὶ κεκαθάρθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι τὴν Σοφίαν καὶ ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῇ σὺνυγα-
 χωρισθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως ἀπ' αὐτῆς
 σὺν τῷ ἐπιγενομένῳ πάθει, αὐτὴν μὲν ἐντὸς Πληρώματος μέναι, τὴν
 δὲ ἐνθύμησιν αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ πάθει ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὁρου ἀφορισ-
 θῆναι καὶ ἀποσταυρωθῆναι καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένην
 εἶναι μὲν πνευματικὴν οὐσίαν, <ὡς> φυσικὴν τινα Αἰῶνος ὁρμὴν τυγ-
 χάνουσαν, ἄμορφον δὲ καὶ ἀνείδεον διὰ τὸ μηδὲν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 καρπὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ θῆλυν αὐτὴν λέγουσι. (1. 3. 3; p. 28) (The
 healing of the woman with an issue of blood symbolized the
 healing of Sophia.) ἡ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα δύναμις τοῦ υἱοῦ (εἶναι δὲ ταύτην
 τὸν Ὅρον θέλουσιν) ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐχώρισεν
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς. (1. 3. 4; p. 29) Ἐπεὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὁρου αὐτῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ
 πλείοσιν ὀνόμασιν καλοῦσι, δύο ἐνεργείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνονται, τὴν τε
 ἐδραστικὴν καὶ τὴν μεριστικὴν· καὶ καθὼ μὲν ἐδράζει καὶ στηρίζει, Σταυρὸν
 εἶναι, καθὼ δὲ μερίζει καὶ διορίζει, Ὅρον.

Hippolytus's account is very like Irenaeus's second source but restricts the functions of Horus within narrower limits, ascribing the removal of the ἑκτρωμα to Christ-Holy Spirit, while Horus merely fences it off from the sight of the Aeons and prevents it from again entering the Pleroma: (6. 31; p. 276, 35) ἐπιπροβληθεὶς οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νοῦ καὶ τῆς

Ἀληθείας, εὐθέως τὸ ἔκτρωμα . . . τοῦτο . . . ἀποχωρίζει τῶν ὅλων Αἰώνων, ἵνα μὴ βλέποντες αὐτὸ ταρασσῶνται διὰ τὴν ἀμορφίαν οἱ τέλειοι Αἰῶνες. Ἰν' οὖν μὴδ' ὅλως τοῖς Αἰῶσι τοῖς τελείοις καταφανῇ τοῦ ἐκτρώματος ἡ ἀμορφία πάλιν καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐπιπροβάλλει Αἰῶνα ἓνα τὸν Σταυρόν, ὅς . . . εἰς φρουρὰν καὶ χαράκωμα τῶν Αἰώνων προβεβλημένος, ὁ ρ ο ς γίνεται τοῦ Πληρώματος, ἔχων ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς τριάκοντα Αἰῶνας . . . καλεῖται δὲ Ὅρος μὲν οὗτος, ὅτι ἀφορίζει ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος ἔξω τὸ ὑστέρημα . . .

The phrase 'that which was going out,' or, 'that which was about to go out,' may refer either to the offending Aeon or to her Thought or Intention only. The immediate context is in favor of the former interpretation: 'He restrained strife among the Aeons, quarreling; the one which was about to go out he expelled.' But this is incompatible with v. 8. The 'Lady' is quite certainly the Being called in other systems the second Sophia or Achamoth, and, whatever the meaning of -σουλαῖν, *αθα μεσ-* can scarcely have any other meaning than 'came from' in the sense of 'is composed of.' The 'Lady' then cannot be identical with the Aeon Sophia, as was taught by Valentinus and Theodotus, but must be derived from the results of sin in the Pleroma, which is the doctrine of Irenaeus's two sources and of that used by Hippolytus.

Thus the second of the four functions ascribed by the poem to the Firmament possesses features in common with both the first and the second of Irenaeus's two sources. With the first, it conceives the offending Aeon, or her Thought, as on the point of going out of the Pleroma in search of the Father; with the second, it describes the Firmament as expelling her Thought from the Pleroma.

The significance of the third and fourth functions will not be obscure to any one familiar with Valentinian ideas. The word *ܠܥܠܐ* properly denotes the twigs or tips of the branches from which immediately spring the leaves and fruit. Here the Aeons themselves are conceived as shoots or offshoots of the *ρίζα τῶν πάντων* (Iren. 1. 1. 1; p. 9), the *ἀναρχος ρίζα* (ib. 1. 2. 1; p. 13); the 'sprays' are those portions of them, so to speak, in which growth and the other life-functions are taking place, that is to say their *προβολαί* 'emanations,' which, again, means their thoughts and in particular their thoughts about the Father.

These Sprays or Thoughts the Firmament examines and divides into two classes, those which are bearing their firstfruits and those which are corrupted and beginning to wither away.

The first contains those emanations or thoughts which are already developing into approximately true conceptions of the Father; these he 'healed'—he relieved them of whatever error was present in them and brought them into a healthy condition. A similar function was ascribed by Valentinus himself to the Holy Spirit (Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 101) καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀληθείας φησὶ προβεβλήσθαι εἰς ἀνάκρισιν καὶ καρποφορίαν τῶν Αἰώνων, ἀοράτως εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσίων· δι' οὗ τοὺς Αἰῶνας καρποφορεῖν τὰ φύλλα⁴ τῆς ἀληθείας. The 'corrupted ones' are the emanations or thoughts which were so erroneous as to be incapable of emendation—and here the fragment ends, with no indication of their fate. But the imagery is obviously suggested by the Parable of the Vine in John 15: πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον καρπὸν, αἶρει αὐτό,⁵ καὶ πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον, καθαίρει αὐτὸ ἵνα καρπὸν πλείονα φέρῃ. . . . ἔαν μὴ τις μένῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἔξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ πῦρ βάλλουσιν καὶ καίεται, and the inference is not unwarranted that the corrupted ones met with some such fate as the unfruitful branches.

Verse 8 supplies a clue for the more precise determination of their fate. For what can the 'Rejected Ones' be if not the imperfect Fruits of the corrupted and withering Sprays? The system represented by the poem differs, then, from those of Irenaeus and Hippolytus in that the 'Lady' Achamoth is composed, not of Sophia's thoughts and passions alone, but of those of all the Aeons who had sinned as she had. This, again, is a new feature. In all the systems known to us Sophia alone is responsible for the introduction of sin into the Pleroma; the other Aeons are guiltless. Here they share the guilt.

The first of the four functions ascribed to the Firmament—he restrained strife among the Aeons—must be viewed in the

⁴ Epiphanius has *φντά*, which is accepted by both Harvey and Holl; the Latin has *folia*, i. e. *φύλλα*. That this is the true reading the poem makes extremely probable. *φντά* implies that the Aeons are conceived as 'good ground' which bears good 'plants,' but in the poem they are conceived as 'sprays' or 'twigs' of the Abyss, and therefore can bear 'leaves,' 'blossoms,' or 'fruits,' but not 'plants.'

⁵ It is probable that the title *Καρπιστής*, attributed to Horus by Irenaeus (1. 2. 4; p. 18), refers to this function and should be translated 'Plucker.' But there are good reasons for accepting Grabe's translation 'Emancipator' (Harvey, note *ad loc.*) and therefore the point cannot be pressed.

light of these other ideas the significance of which I have been endeavoring to make clear. Strife among the Aeons is an entirely new idea; it is not mentioned in any of our sources for Valentinianism. Yet its presence in this system is exceptionally well attested. No less than three words, 'contending' (v. 6), 'strife' (v. 10), and 'quarreling' (v. 11) imply it, and it is not likely that all three are due to erroneous transliterations from Greek into Syriac.

Irenaeus's first source admits that Sophia's πάθος was shared to a certain extent by the other Aeons: (1. 2. 1; p. 13) καὶ οἱ μὲν λοιποὶ ὁμοίως Αἰῶνες ἡσυχῇ πως ἐπεπόθουν τὸν προβολέα τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀναρχὸν ρίζαν ἱστορῆσαι. In fact the πάθος originated, not with Sophia, but with Logos and Life and from them 'infected' the entire Pleroma, all the way down to Sophia, the last of the Aeons (see the text, quoted p. 17). That this implication of the other Aeons in Sophia's πάθος was a matter of moment Irenaeus sees clearly: (2. 17. 5; p. 309) *Si autem omnes (sc. Aeones) dicunt participasse passionis hujus (i. e. Sophiae) quemadmodum quidam audent dicere, quia a Logo quidem coepit, derivatio autem in Sophiam, in Logum hujus (i. e. Sophiae) [Nun Propatoris] passionem revocantes arguentur, et Nun Propatoris et ipsum Patrem in passione fuisse confitentes.* Yet the mere πάθος or desire to know the Father was not itself sinful; sin entered in when the desire led to the formation of conceptions about the Father without the assistance of Θελητός, 'Approved.' Such conceptions were necessarily erroneous and hence sinful.

In the system reported by Hippolytus the Aeons not merely desire to know the Father but actually form conceptions about him, yet without committing sin, for they conceive these thoughts κατὰ συζυγίαν: (6, 30; p. 274, 99) ἐνόησεν (sc. ἡ Σοφία) ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Αἰῶνες γεννητοὶ ὑπάρχοντες κατὰ συζυγίαν γεννώσιν, ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ μόνος ἄζυγος ἐγέννησεν. Sophia's sin consisted in the fact that she (274, 2) ἡθέλησε μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ γεννῆσαι καθ' ἑαυτὴν δίχα τοῦ συζύγου, ἵνα μηδὲν ἢ ἔργον ὑποδεέστερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰργασμένη.

Marcus also teaches that each Aeon has a conception of the Father and adds the further details that each conceives the Father after his own likeness and has no knowledge of the conceptions formed by any other, but imagines his own to be an adequate representation of the Whole. (It should be remem-

bered that in Marcus's system each Aeon is represented as a Letter, the thirty Letters constituting a Λόγος which was τοῦ Ἀοράτου μορφή.) (Iren. 1. 14, 1; p. 130) ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἴδια γράμματα καὶ ἴδιον χαρακτήρα καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκφώνησιν καὶ σχήματα καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχειν, καὶ μὴδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι ὃ τὴν ἐκείνου καθορᾷ μορφήν οὐπερ αὐτὸ στοιχείον ἐστίν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γινώσκειν⁶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ μὴν τὴν τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον ἐκφώνησιν γίνωσκειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκφωνεῖ. ὥς τὸ πᾶν ἐκφωνοῦντα, τὸ ὅλον ἡγεῖσθαι ὀνομάζειν.

These three closely related theories are probably later and emended forms of an earlier doctrine, no doubt that of Valentinus himself, which was retained with little change in the system represented by the poem. This earlier doctrine may be reconstructed somewhat as follows.

All the Aeons not only desired to know the Father but also actually formed conceptions of him, each after his own likeness. All of these conceptions were, in a sense, true, for each Aeon is an aspect or attribute or manifestation of the Father, indeed Valentinus seems to have taught that they were constituents of the Divine Consciousness: (Tert. *adv. Val.* c. 4, p. 181 Kroymann *CSEL* vol. 47, pt. 3) *eam (viam) postmodum Ptolomaeus intrauit, nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra deum determinatas, quas Valentinus in ipsa summa diuinitatis ut sensus et affectus motus incluserat.*⁷ But no one of them was an adequate expression of the Divine Being as a Whole; such an expression could be found only in all, collectively, which totality constituted the 'Pleroma' or 'Fulness' of God. But they were not content thus to possess each only a partial knowledge of the Father; each claimed to possess a complete and adequate knowledge of him and denied

⁶ The reading γινώσκειν is that of Hippolytus and is supported by the Latin (*sed ne quidem proximi ejus unumquodque enuntiationem scire*). Epiphanius, according to Dindorf (Holl's second volume in which this passage would be found is not yet published), reads πολιορκεῖ, for which Dindorf substitutes the πλεονεκτεῖ of the parallel passage, *Epitome*, p. 365, 12, rejecting (vol. 3, p. 666) the evidence of Hippolytus and the Latin for reasons which seem to me inadequate. Harvey reads γινώσκειν.

⁷ K reads *affectus <et> motus*, which yields no clear idea. How can the Aeons be conceived as 'motions' distinct from conscious states? Tert. is using a Greek idiom, perhaps following a Greek source—ὡς αἰσθήσεις καὶ πάθος κινήσεις, 'as being excitations of perception and of emotion' within the Godhead.

the validity of all conceptions except his own. Hence arose among them rivalry, strife, and even unseemly bickering and quarreling. Moreover, not content with the conceptions of the Father afforded by the constitution of their own natures, they sought to overstep these divinely appointed limits and to conceive of the Father as at once transcending all possible conceptions and yet capable of being comprised within such conceptions. From such attempts nothing could result except error and confusion of mind. And Sophia, the youngest and lowest of all, was the worst offender among them, for Sophia represents at once the Wisdom of God as expressed in the organization of the material universe and the 'wisdom' of man, what the Greeks called *σοφία* or *φιλοσοφία*, which consists chiefly in thorough knowledge of the material universe, and of all conceptions of God none are so inadequate and erroneous as those which are derived from material things.

One can readily see that such a theory as this, which represented the very Godhead as torn asunder by jealousy and strife, would give no little offence and would speedily be modified. The three extant theories are most easily explained as attempts to meet the difficulties raised by the original doctrine. Ptolemy, for the theories contained in Irenaeus's first and second sources are quite certainly different forms of the teachings current among his followers, held that no Aeon save Sophia formed any conception of the Father at all until instructed by Christ-Holy Spirit.⁸

The source used by Hippolytus taught that, although all the Aeons conceived thoughts of the Father, all except Sophia did so in the divinely appointed way, through conjugal union, and therefore none of their 'offspring' was 'shapeless,' that is, erroneous.

Marcus declares that no Aeon had any knowledge whatever of the thought of God entertained by any other, from which it

⁸ Tertullian, indeed, does charge Sophia with jealousy of Nous (*adv. Val. c. 9, p. 187, 15 Kr.: sed enim sub praetexto dilectionis in patrem aemulatio superabat in Nun, solum de patre gaudentem*). But there is no reason to suppose that Tertullian had any better ground for it than his own malicious fancy; the Latin version of Irenaeus, which Tertullian probably had before him, has, like the Greek original, not 'jealousy' but 'presumption,' *temeritatis*.

- 9 And from him came Love and Equality,
and they told one another what they had,
And they were penetrated by the Word,
10 and they knew him that made them,
because they were in equality.

Whether the 'Ages' or 'Worlds' here are Aeons or Star-spirits is irrelevant; the picture is at all events suggested by the Valentinian model and the author uses such elements of it as suit his purpose. The Logos plays the part of the Celestial Light of the poem, and he also is Light. The Ages correspond to the Aeons; they receive 'equality' as in Irenaeus and 'love' as in Hippolytus. But there is no intimation of strife; rather does it seem that before the advent of the Logos the Ages were dumb, incapable of communicating or of receiving an idea, which is analogous to the conception of Marcus that no Aeon knows anything of the thought of any other. But when the Logos gave them the gift of speech each communicated to the others his conception of God; thus all were brought into love and equality, 'and they knew him that made them because they were in equality'—for each now possesses all the conceptions of the Father entertained in the Pleroma and the sum of them all constitutes all that can be known of him. And this also is Marcus's doctrine.

Disconnected as the ideas of the poem are, it is possible to reconstruct out of them the author's theory of the origin of sin and his conception of the early stages of the process which is to end in sin's annihilation. Each Aeon was an individual expression or attribute of the Transcendent Reality. Each conceived his Source in his own likeness, each asserted that his own conception and no other was at once true and adequate, whence arose jealousy, bickering, and strife. Sophia went far beyond all the others, so far that her Thought was on the point of going out of the Pleroma and losing itself in the Abyss. Then it was that the Celestial Light was emanated. He diffused himself throughout every Region or Aeon, bringing with him information about the Father which he had received from the Head or Source, that is Nous. In this way, and no doubt in others, such as are described by Irenaeus, he showed kindness to the Aeons. The Celestial Firmament is not an Aeon absolutely independent of all others. As Christ is a cloud of dazzling

Light invading the Pleroma and spreading throughout it, so is the Firmament the advancing Boundary (*ὄρος*) of this Light, which, when the Light has filled the entire Pleroma, becomes identical with the boundary of the Pleroma itself. Thus its, or rather his, functions are merely aspects of the functions of the Light. In general it was to restrain strife among the Aeons—not necessarily to put a stop to all rivalry, but to bring it within proper limits. This he did in three steps. First he expelled from the Pleroma that Thought or Intention of Sophia's which had presumed to try to break its bounds. Second, every Spray or Shoot or Thought about the Father which was producing its firstfruits, that is, issuing in an approximately true conception, he healed—brought to a state of health and perfection. For such a Thought is itself light and the advent of the Light will still further illumine and strengthen it. Third, every Spray which is not bearing such fruit but is incurably corrupted and on the point of withering away he no doubt cut off and cast out of the Pleroma. In the outer Darkness and Void Sophia's Thought and all the other erroneous and rejected Thoughts coalesced into a murky and seething mass, composed almost wholly of Ignorance and frenzied Passions. This is what some Valentinians called 'Achamoth,' what this author calls 'the Lady who came from Rejected Ones.' To her the Celestial Light showed mercy, no doubt as in Irenaeus's second source by permitting some measure of his radiance to shine through Horus in order to penetrate into and become part of her consciousness.

One at least of the new doctrines presented by the poem, that which derives Achamoth from all the Aeons, can be identified with considerable confidence as the teaching of Secundus, the pupil of Valentinus.

Of Secundus nothing is known except the little told by Irenaeus and Hippolytus. These two accounts are almost identical and it is obvious that Hippolytus is either copying Irenaeus or drawing from the same source—supposed to be the lost *Σύνταγμα* of Justin Martyr. Tertullian, Epiphanius, Pseudo-Tertullian, Filaster, and Theodoretus give more or less distorted reproductions of this same account; no one of them possesses any independent source of information.

Iren. 1. 11. 1; p. 101:

Secundus autem

*primam ogdoadem sic tradidit, dicens:
 quaternationem esse dextram et quater-
 nationem sinistram, et lumen et tenebras;
 et discedentem autem <et> destitutam
 virtutem, non a triginta Aeonibus
 dicūt fuisse, sed a fructibus eorum.*

Hipp. 6. 38; p. 292, 94:

Σεκοῦνδος μὲν τις κατὰ τὸ
 αὐτὸ ἅμα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γενόμενος,
 οὕτως λέγει·
 τετράδα εἶναι δεξιὰν καὶ τετράδα ἀρις-
 τεράν, καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος·
 καὶ τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ ὑστερήσαν
 δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων
 λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν
 αὐτῶν.

The first statement, that Secundus divided the First Ogdoad into two Tetrads, a Right and a Left, Light and Darkness, has no bearing upon any of the ideas of the poem and therefore need not now be discussed.

The second statement is ambiguous. Its more obvious meaning would be: 'The Power which deserted and failed was derived not from the Thirty Aeons but from their Fruits.'

It is in this sense that Tertullian, whose sole source is Irenaeus, understands it (*adv. Val. c. 38, p. 211, 11 Kroymann*): . . . *tantum quod desultricem et defectricem illam uirtutem non uult ab aliquo deducere Aeonum sed a fructibus de substantia uenientibus*.¹⁰ This interpretation would distinguish the theory of Secundus both from that of Valentinus and Theodotus, which made Achamoth a fallen Aeon, and from that of Ptolemy and others, which made her the fruit of an Aeon, in that it makes her the offspring of the fruits of Aeons, which fruits in turn came from the substance of the Aeons, thus placing her in the third instead of the second generation from the Pleroma.

It is possible, however, to take ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. in a less obvious sense as nearly equivalent to a partitive genitive (Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Gramm. d. gr. Spr.* 3d ed. 3. p. 457), in which case the meaning would be: 'The Power which revolted and failed was not (any one) of the Thirty Aeons but was (one or

¹⁰ Kroymann adopts the MS reading *ueniant*, upon which he remarks: *ueniant PMF, uenientibus Pam(elius); non sequor quia nec ex Irenaeo hic deficiente nec ex interprete nec ex Epiphania emendandi rationem accipio. Pamelius's emendation is quite satisfactory; the fact that neither the Latin nor Epiphanius throws any light upon the passage is not surprising, for there is every reason for supposing that this is one of Tertullian's innumerable glosses upon Irenaeus's text.*

more) of their Fruits.' If this be the meaning, the negative assertion distinguishes Secundus's theory from that of Valentinus, but the positive does not clearly distinguish it from that of Ptolemy, for he also held that Achamoth was the Fruit of an Aeon. It is in this sense that Ps.-Tert. understands it (*adv. omn. haer.* c. 4, p. 221, 12 Kroymann): *Post hunc extiterunt Ptolomaeus et Secundus haeretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt, in illo solo differunt: nam cum Valentinus Aeonas tantum triginta finxisset, isti addiderunt alios complures; quatuor enim primum, deinde alios quatuor adgregauerunt. et quod dicit Valentinus Aeonem tricesimum excessisse de Pleromate, ut in defectionem, negant isti: non enim ex illa triacontada fuisse hunc, qui fuerit in defectione propter desiderium uidendi propatoris.*

Epiphanius's paraphrase is even more obscure than the original, but it would seem that he also takes ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. as equivalent to a partitive genitive (*haer.* 32. 1. 6; p. 439, 13 Holl): *τὴν δὲ ἀποστᾶσάν τε καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα Αἰῶνας, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Ὀγδοᾶδα τὴν ἄλλην κατωτέρω γενομένων,*¹¹—'not of the Thirty Aeons but after the Thirty Aeons, in the sense of being of the (emanations) which came into existence on a lower (plane) after the Second Ogdoad.' According to all sources save one the Second Ogdoad is itself the offspring of Achamoth; this makes Achamoth the offspring of the Second Ogdoad. The sole exception is the Valentinian document which quotes this Syriac poem. In it mention is made of a Second Ogdoad derived directly from the First. It is composed (*Epiph. haer.* 31. 6. 2; p. 393, 5 Holl) of the 'males' Μόνος, Τρίτος, Πέμπτος, Ἑβδομος, and the 'females' Δνάς, Τετράς, Ἐξάς, Ὀγδοάς, and seems to be identical with the Μεσότης (*ib.* 31. 6. 9; p. 395, 9). There is unfortunately nothing in the document to determine the relations of these emanations to Achamoth. It is possible that Epiphanius is here drawing from that portion of the document which he has not copied, yet

¹¹ Holl reads ἀπὸ τῶν <καρπῶν αὐτῶν τῶν> μετὰ τὴν κτλ. While this emendation does not materially affect the sense, the MS reading is preferable; ἀπὸ τῶν . . . γενομένων is Epiphanius's paraphrase of ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. For γενομένων the MSS have γενομένην, again without materially affecting the sense.

in his own sketch of the Valentinian doctrine, presumably based upon that document, he derives the Second Ogdoad from the ὑστέρημα in the usual way (31. 4. 2; p. 388, 2).

Returning to Irenaeus's text: while both these interpretations are admissible, the context is distinctly in favor of the second. For this paragraph follows immediately after a sketch of the doctrine of Valentinus in the course of which Irenaeus says (1. 11. 1; p. 100): ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δώδεκα (sc. δυνάμεις λέγει προβεβλήσθαι) ὧν μίαν ἀποστᾶσαν καὶ ὑστερήσαν τὴν λοιπὴν πραγματείαν πεποιῆσθαι. The sketch concludes: *haec quidem ille; Secundus autem*, etc., from which it is manifest that when he proceeds to say of the same δύναμις in Secundus's system that it was not ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων, he means to distinguish Secundus's doctrine from that of Valentinus; ἀπὸ τῶν κτλ. then is equivalent to a partitive genitive. In like manner ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν must mean 'of' or 'among their Fruits,' that is, 'is identical with some of their Fruits.' But this is the doctrine of the poem.

The interpretation which I have above given of the poem rests entirely upon the reading μεσσουλαῖν. The emendations which yield the alternatives μεσσουλαν and μεσσουλιαν are simple, defensible, and would bring the doctrine of the poem into line with that of Ptolemy. Indeed, all my earlier attempts at interpretation proceeded upon the assumption that some such emendation was necessary; it was not until experience had proved that the fewer the emendations the better the sense that I reluctantly tried to make sense of μεσσουλαῖν. The above interpretation of the poem's doctrine had been reasoned out from the text and written out substantially as it now stands before I observed that Irenaeus's statement of Secundus's theory could be taken as expressing the same thought, and when I did observe it, it seemed to me, and still seems, a striking confirmation of the reading.

The poem manifestly presupposes on the part of the reader a knowledge of the system of thought which underlies it and should be regarded as essentially a hymn of praise, designed to stimulate devotional feeling. Since the first stanza glorifies the saving work of the Celestial Light and the second that of the Celestial Firmament, one may infer that a third sang the praises of the Σωτὴρ who descended from the Pleroma to deliver

Achamoth from despair and initiate the construction of the material universe, and a fourth those of Jesus who descended to earth to bring salvation to mankind. Whether the poem contained more than four stanzas must remain undetermined.

To the author and precise date of the poem there is no clue. The fact that it preserves one of the doctrines of Secundus does not prove that Secundus wrote it; in fact, since nothing is known of Secundus's nationality, it is not known whether he wrote in Syriac or not. One naturally thinks first of Bardaisan, the Syrian Valentinian, to whose authorship the hymns used in the denomination which he founded were popularly ascribed, or of his son Harmonius, who, according to Sozomen (*HE* 3. 16), 'had, people say, a Greek education and was the first to adapt his mother tongue to meters and rules of music' (ὃν φασὶ διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι λόγων ἀχθέντα πρῶτον μέτροις καὶ νόμοις μουσικοῖς τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ὑπαγαγεῖν). But the poem contains nothing known to be characteristic of Bardaisan or of his school, and in the hundred and fifty years or so which elapsed between the death of Bardaisan and the appearance of the poem in the pages of Epiphanius there is ample time for the composition of many hymns by Syrian Valentinians. The only other Syrian Valentinian known by name is Axionicus, a contemporary of Tertullian (*adv. Val.* c. 4; p. 181, 12 Kr.: *solus ad hodiernum Antiochiae Axionicus memoriam Valentini integra custodia regularum eius consolatur*), but there is little ground for attributing the poem to him. If, as seems probable, the source used by Hippolytus was the work of Axionicus,¹² the

¹² Hippolytus's main account of Valentinianism (6. 29-36) is a coherent exposition of a single system, obviously based upon a written source to which he makes frequent allusions, and with occasional digressions in which he compares variant forms of these doctrines with those which he is expounding. In the course of this exposition and as an integral part of it occurs (c. 35) the doctrine that the body of Jesus was composed of spiritual substance, emanated by Sophia and molded by the Demiurge. This gives occasion for the remark that the Valentinians are divided upon this issue, that the Italian school, to which belong Heracleon and Ptolemy, hold that Jesus' body was psychic and that the spiritual element did not enter it until his baptism, while the Eastern school, to which belong Axionicus and 'Ardesianes'—no doubt Bardaisan—hold that it was spiritual. The doctrine is then restated in almost the same words as have already been used, although more briefly. It is somewhat more than a fair

poem cannot possibly be his, for the system there expounded is very different from that of the poem. One may, perhaps, infer from the form and character of the poem the existence of an audience instructed in the doctrines of the system which it represents and capable of appreciating its allusions—possibly a congregation which used such hymns in its liturgy, as the Bardaisanian churches certainly did. This would indicate a later rather than an earlier date for its composition. But the primitive type of its doctrine forbids its assignment to the latest developments of Valentinian speculation; it is probably not later than the middle of the third century and may well be earlier.

The relation of the poem to the document in which it is quoted involves so many and such difficult problems that it cannot be discussed here. One may, however, observe that the words with which it is introduced—*βούλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς γινώσκειν*—imply that the author is in full agreement with the doctrine of the poem.

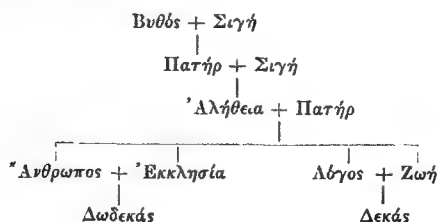
These same words suggest an explanation of Epiphanius's strange mistake—and very strange it is that 'Father Epiphanius of the five tongues,' as he is called by Jerome (c. *Rufinum*, 3. 6; Migne, 23, col. 462: *Pater Epiphanius πεντάγλωσσος*), who credits him with a knowledge of Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian, and some Latin (*op. cit.* 2. 22; M. col. 446), a native of Palestine and even alleged to be of Jewish birth and upbringing, should have mistaken a Syriac poem for a list of names. What little Syriac Epiphanius knew he probably knew, as do most of us, through the eye only, not through ear or tongue, and hence the words in their Greek dress conveyed at first glance no meaning to his mind and no hint of the language which they represented. On the other hand, the portentous introduction—'I wish you to know'—addressed as it is to the Perfect Ones, suggested a Secret, and completely misled him. Among all practitioners of Holy Magic (*ιεροργία, θεουργία*), such as many Gnostics certainly were, the most highly prized secret was knowledge of the hidden Names, for he that possessed it could make the beings designated by those Names his servants and compel them

inference that the source which Hippolytus is using was the work of either Axionicus or Bardaisan—presumably of Axionicus, since he is given the precedence.

to do his bidding. These Names were usually strange combinations of vowels and consonants, of barbarous appearance to the Greek eye, and the good Father saw before him a column or list of just such words. What more natural than the inference, what more pleasing than the thought, that he had detected and could now make public the very Secret of secrets, the very Secret which the detestable heretics would most dislike to have exposed? Moreover, the Valentinians grouped their spiritual beings in pairs; the lines of the column, or sub-divisions of the list, nearly all contained just two words each—then the first fifteen lines must contain the names of the Thirty Aeons! And this is the reason why he transcribed just fifteen lines of the poem and no more, thus preserving for us one complete stanza and only seven of the eight verses of the second.

That Epiphanius did in fact derive his notions of Valentinian doctrine from such a column or list he virtually tells us himself, *Panar.* 31. 2. 6; p. 384, 22 Holl: ὅρα δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀγύρτου τετραγῶδημένην μυθοποιίαν καὶ μοχθηρὰν διδασκαλίαν. τριάκοντα γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἔφην, αἰῶνας βούλεται παριστᾶν, οὓς καὶ θεοὺς ὀνομάζει, δεκαπέντε ἄρρενας καὶ θηλείας τοσαύτας εἶναι λέγων. ἕκαστον δὲ αἰῶνα ἄρρενόθηλυν καὶ ζεύγος φησιν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ· δεκαπέντε δὲ δνάδας φασὶν εἶναι, ὥς συζυγίας καλοῦσι. τὸν ἀριθμὸν δὲ εἶναι τριάκοντα αἰῶνας, ἐκάστην δὲ θήλειαν γεννᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος τοὺς καθεξῆς αἰῶνας· κτλ.

Where did Epiphanius get the idea that each female Aeon 'generates from the male the succeeding Aeons'? It is, of course, not true in any Valentinian system; that it was not true in this system he would have perceived if he had taken the trouble to read the document before his eyes in which the genealogy of the Aeons is given as follows:—



I think the most probable explanation is that he mistook the column of verses for a genealogical table, in which each pair

was the progenitor of the next and so of all the subsequent pairs.

This same hypothesis, that Epiphanius had before him what he supposed to be a list arranged column-wise, explains his hitherto inexplicable repetition of the list. The passage above quoted proceeds: εἶναι δὲ τούτους ὡς ὑποτέτακται, κατὰ ἀντιπαράθεσιν ἐκάστου ἀρρενικοῦ ὀνόματος τεταγμένου ἀντικρὺς τοῦ θηλυκοῦ ὀνόματος [i. e. he writes them in a double column] καὶ ἔστιν· [here follows the list]. καὶ οὕτως μὲν σύγκεινται ὡς κατὰ συζυγίαν ἀρρενοθήλεος [i. e. the above arrangement exhibits the Aeons in connubial union as fifteen bisexual beings], ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ κατὰ διαδοχὴν οὕτως [i. e. to exhibit them in sequence and due succession as thirty individual beings they should be arranged as follows; the list is then repeated unchanged. No doubt Epiphanius in his original MS arranged them either in a single column or simply in line as we now have them]. ὦν ὀνομάτων ἐρμηνεῖαί εἰσιν αἵδε· Βυθὸς καὶ Σιγή, Νοῦς καὶ Ἀλήθεια [and so on, the thirty Greek names being given in fifteen pairs]. κατὰ δὲ ἀριθμὸν διαδοχῆς καὶ ἀκολουθίας [i.e. but to exhibit the number of the Aeons contained in this succession and sequence] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωτάτου ἀκατονομάστου Πατρὸς καὶ Βυθοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζομένου ἕως τούτου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐρανοῦ ὃ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸς οὕτως ἔχει [the same list follows, but the names are not linked in pairs by καὶ's]. When the copyists disregarded the differences of arrangement by which Epiphanius sought to represent the distinction between fifteen bisexual beings and the thirty individual Aeons, the first two lists became indistinguishable.

ORIGIN OF TIBETAN WRITING

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THE CHINESE ANNALS of the T'ang Dynasty (A. D. 618-906) report that the ancient Tibetans (*T'u-fan*) possessed no writing, but that they availed themselves of notched tallies and knotted strings (*quippus*) in concluding treaties.¹ This account evidently refers to the people at large, but not to the government of Lhasa; for continuing our reading of the annals we notice sufficient evidence for the existence of some form of actual writing as a means of official communication. We are informed that in A. D. 634 the king (*btsan-p'o*) K'i-tsun lun-tsan or K'i-su-nun (corresponding to Tibetan Sroñ-btsan sgam-po) sent envoys with tribute to the Chinese emperor, and subsequently despatched to him a respectful letter petitioning for a matrimonial alliance. In A. D. 641 he received in marriage the Chinese princess (*kung chu*) Wen-ch'eng, and gradually adopted Chinese customs and manners. He invited scholars from China to compose his official reports to the emperor. After his successful participation in Wang Hsuan-ts'e's campaign in central India (A. D. 648)² he applied to the emperor for work-

¹ *Kiu T'ang shu*, ch. 196 A, p. 1; *Sin T'ang shu*, ch. 216 A, p. 1b; *T'ang hui yao*, ch. 97, p. 2b. The correctness of this tradition was called into doubt by Abel-Rémusat (*Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 67-68), who gathered his information from the compiler Ma Tuan-lin of the thirteenth century, and was led to the belief that this one referred the quippu tradition of the *Yi king* to a people little known to him. Ma Tuan-lin, of course, excerpted the T'ang Annals, and the latter were based on contemporaneous state documents of the T'ang dynasty. Tallies and mnemotechnic knots were universally known in ancient times, and still survive to a great extent. There is no reason to doubt their occurrence in ancient Tibet. Tallies and quippus are ascribed also to another Tibetan tribe, the Ta-yang-t'ung (*T'ang hui yao*, ch. 99, p. 13b). The Annals of the Sui Dynasty (*Sui shu*, ch. 81, p. 10b) state in regard to the ancient Japanese that 'they have no script, but only carve notches in wood and tie knots in cords.'

² Regarding the missions of Wang Hsuan-ts'e see S. Levi, *JA* 1900, 1. 297-341, 401-468; *T'oung Pao*, 1912. 307-309; Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1912. 351-380.

men to manufacture paper and ink,³ and the request was granted—a sure symptom of the fact that writing then existed and was practised. Under the successors of Luñ-tsan, who died in A. D. 650, the official correspondence between Tibet and China increased in volume, and a chancery for the transaction of such business was established in the capital Lhasa. Several Sino-Tibetan documents, notably the celebrated treaty solemnized in A. D. 822, are still preserved on stone tablets in Lhasa.

While there is thus no doubt of the existence of writing under the first powerful king, the Chinese annals are reticent as to the character and origin of this writing. This is by no means striking, since the Chinese historians were chiefly interested in the political relations of the country to their own, and not in its inner cultural development; they do not tell us either of that great religious movement which swept Tibet in those days—the introduction of Buddhism from India.⁴

According to the tradition of the Tibetans, King Sron-btsan sgam-po in A. D. 632⁵ sent T'on-mi or T'ou-mi, the son of A-nu, subsequently honored by the cognomen Sañbhōṭa, to India to study Sanskrit and Buddhist literature and to gather materials for the formation of an alphabet adapted to the Tibetan language. On his return to Lhasa he formed two Tibetan alphabets, one 'with heads' (*bdu-čan*) out of the Lāñcā script, and another 'headless' (*dbu-med*) out of the Wartula characters. The details of this tradition, to which there will be occasion to revert, vary to some extent in different accounts, but the principal elements of it are identical both in historical and grammatical works. It somewhat lacks in precision and detail, and we must not forget that it comes down to us from a comparatively late period, and that the contemporaneous, original form of the tradition is lost.

As regards the time of the introduction of writing, it follows from the Chinese annals that it indeed existed under the reign

³ According to the *T'ang hui yao*: paper and writing-brushes.

⁴ Only the New History of the T'ang Dynasty says that the Tibetans are fond of the doctrine of Buddha, and that the Buddhist clergy was consulted on all important state affairs.

⁵ According to the chronology adopted by the Mongol prince and annalist Sanai Setsen. The History of the Tibetan Kings sets no exact date for the event, except that it is recorded in the beginning of the king's reign.

of King Sroñ-btsan sgam-po. It is clear from both the Chinese and Tibetan annals (the latter stating the fact implicitly) that prior to his era there was no writing. The Chinese annals do not impart the date of his accession to the throne: they give us the year 634 as that of his first mission sent to China and 650 as the year of his death. Sanañ Setsen states that he was born in 617 and assumed the reign in 629 in his thirteenth year⁶; this would agree with the Chinese statement that he was a minor at the time of his succession. The foundation of the national system of writing, accordingly, must have taken place between the years 630 and 648; for the latter date must be regarded as the *terminus ad quem*, since in that year the request for paper and ink manufacturers was submitted to China. As this event followed immediately the punitive expedition of Wang Hüan-ts'è against Magadha, who was then assisted by a Tibetan army, suspicion is ripe that this enterprise may have had a causal connection with the inauguration of writing in Tibet. At any rate, the case illustrates the fact that the road from Lhasa to Magadha was known to the Tibetans, and that there is nothing surprising or incredible in regard to T'on-mi's mission.

The time spent by T'on-mi in India is variously given. According to Chandra Das⁷ he should have resided in Magadha from A. D. 630 to 650—doubtless an exaggeration and contradictory to Chinese chronology, according to which King Sroñ-btsan died in A. D. 650; and according to the Tibetan accounts he profited from his emissary's instructions and himself composed several books.

The substance of the Tibetan tradition was clearly known as early as the eighteenth century: it was recorded by the Augustinian Pater A. Georgi,⁸ who gave the name of the founder of writing in the corrupted form Samtan-Pontra, and who styles his Indian instructor the Brahman Lecin (that is Le-č'in, according to the Tibetan pronunciation Li-j'in). P. S. Pallas already set forth rather sensible views on the Tibetan alphabet, recog-

⁶ According to the chronological table published by Csoma (*Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 183) he should have been born in that year (the European dates of Csoma are wrongly calculated and have to be increased by two); this is evidently an inadvertence of the Tibetan author.

⁷ 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' *JASB* 57 (1888). 41.

⁸ *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 290 (Rome, 1762).

nizing its similarity with the Devanāgarī, and opposing Georgi's speculation that it should have sprung from the Syrian Nestorians.⁹ With respect to the Tibetan tradition, Abel-Rémusat remarked:¹⁰ 'Cette tradition n'a rien d'in vraisemblable en elle-même.' He emphasized the connection of Tibetan script with the Devanāgarī and other Indian alphabets in Farther India and the Archipelago. Klaproth, an orientalist and historian of great critical acumen, likewise accepted the Tibetan tradition, and so did Koeppen and Lassen.¹¹

In 1829 I. J. Schmidt devoted a thorough investigation to the origin of Tibetan writing.¹² This was in the same year when Schmidt published his edition and translation of the Mongol chronicle of Sanañ Setsen, which for the first time disclosed the native tradition relative to the introduction of writing into Tibet.¹³ Schmidt compared the Tibetan alphabet with that utilized in an Indian inscription found in a rock-cave of Gayā and on a pillar of Allahabad.¹⁴ The combination of these alphabets reproduced by him on a plate is in all ways convincing. Schmidt further held that Tibetan writing was not modeled after the Lāñcā, but owed its origin to an older and obsolete form of script.

The best summary of the problem is given by T. de Lacouperie.¹⁵ He treats the Tibetan tradition with sound and sensible criticism and arrives at this conclusion: 'As to the Tibetan

⁹ *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*, 2. 359 (St. Petersburg, 1801).

¹⁰ *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 343 (Paris, 1820).

¹¹ J. Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 158 (Paris, 1826), cf. also some observations on the Tibetan alphabet in *JA* 10 (1827). 132; C. F. Koeppen, *Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, p. 56 (Berlin, 1859); C. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 4. 714.

¹² 'Über den Ursprung der tibetischen Schrift,' *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St.-Petersbourg*, 6th series, 1 (1829). 41-52. This treatise has not been consulted by the recent theorists on Tibetan writing, A. H. Francke and A. F. R. Hoernle.

¹³ *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, p. 29-31, 325-328 (St. Petersburg, 1829).

¹⁴ A similar observation is made by Csoma, *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 204 (Calcutta, 1834).

¹⁵ *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Western Asia*, p. 56-67 (London, 1894).

expedition, there is no apparent reason to doubt it, with the exception of the additions and embellishments which have been added by the historians. Let us remember that we have no contemporary records nor annals of the time, and that all the knowledge we have from the Tibetan history is derived from native compilation, if not of a late date, at least made many centuries after the events they purpose to record.'

The discoveries made in Turkistan have also enriched Tibetan philology; and ancient Tibetan inscriptions, manuscripts, and business documents will contribute a large quota to our knowledge of Tibetan palaeography, language, and literature. Under the influence of these finds the theory has been advanced by A. H. Francke that the Tibetan tradition relative to the introduction of writing from India is unfounded, and that writing was introduced into Tibet from Turkistan, more particularly from Khotan. A. H. Francke is somewhat handicapped by lack of scientific training and unfortunately more endowed with imagination than with sound and cautious scholarship. My opinion on his theory I have briefly set forth in the *T'oung Pao* (1914, p. 67), where I declared myself wholly in accord with Lient.-Colonel Waddell, who vigorously and successfully opposed this alleged discovery.¹⁶ Even now I would not deem it worth while to submit Francke's hypothesis to a detailed discussion, were it not that recently it has been officially indorsed by a serious scholar of the type of A. F. R. Hoernle.¹⁷ In his last work¹⁸ Hoernle even elaborates a complex theory based on the fancies and figments of A. H. Francke. It is deplorable that a scholar to whom we all look with respect, and to whom we owe so many great things could be led astray by such vague and unfounded speculations, and that the pages of a work which is essentially devoted to the presentation of new and important documentary material are thus marred.

The notions of A. H. Francke center around two points, a new etymology of the name Li-byin and real or alleged coincidences between the Tibetan and Khotan alphabets. According to the Tibetan tradition the Brāhmaṇa consulted by T'on-mi

¹⁶ *JRAS* 1909. 945-947.

¹⁷ *JRAS* 1915. 493.

¹⁸ *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, p. xvi-xxxii (Oxford, 1916).

in India was styled Li-byin.¹⁹ E. Schlagintweit²⁰ observed that this name seems to allude to the art of writing and to be a Tibetanized form of Sanskrit *lipi* 'writing.' W. W. Rockhill²¹ conceived the name as a corruption of *lipikara* 'scribe'; this explanation was accepted by de Lacouperie, Waddell, and Huth.²² I hold the same opinion save that I do not accept the restitution *Lipikāra* or *Livikāra*,²³ but take Tibetan *Libyin* (properly *Lib-yin*) as the transcription of a Prākṛit or vernacular form *Lipyin* or *Livyin*. As shown in my forthcoming study 'Loan-Words in Tibetan,' a large number of these is derived, not from Sanskrit, but from the Prākṛits, more particularly from the Apabhraṃśas.

Now A. H. Francke, without taking account of this reasonable interpretation, dogmatically proclaims: 'This name (*Li-byin*) has always been wrongly translated. It has to be translated "Glory" (or blessing) of the land "Li." Li-byin had apparently received his name, because the land Li had reason to be proud of him. The land Li is either a country near Nepal or Turkistan. I am convinced that it here signifies Turkistan; for there is some probability that it was in the Turkistan monasteries that Tibetan was first reduced to writing, and T'on-mi simply reaped the fruit of such learning.'²⁴ All very simple indeed: a magic word of Francke is sufficient to upset any tradition and all history. Historical conclusions cannot be based on any subjective etymologies, however ingenious they

¹⁹ According to I. J. Schmidt (*Forschungen*, p. 221) also the form *Lha-byin* occurs. This, if correct, would render Sanskrit *Devadatta*.

²⁰ *Könige von Tibet*, p. 839, note 4.

²¹ *Life of the Buddha*, p. 212.

²² T. de Lacouperie, *Beginnings of Writing*, p. 63; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 22; G. Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 2. 8. Moreover, in the grammatical work *Si-tui sum-rtags* (p. 3, ed. of Chandra Das) the name of the Brahman appears in Tibetan transcription as *Li-bi-ka-ra*, i. e. Skt. *Lipikara*. Cf. also E. J. Thomas, *JEAS* 1916. 857.

²³ Tibetan *byin* in Sanskrit words is always the perfect of the verb *sbyin-pa* 'to give' and corresponds to Sanskrit *datta*, not, however, to *kara* or *kāra*. A restoration *Lipidatta* would, of course, be impossible. In fact, the element *byin* does not represent a Tibetan word, but forms part of the transcription.

²⁴ *JASB* 6 (1910). 97; repeated in *Epigraphia Indica*, 11 (1912). 269, and adopted by Hoernle.

may be. Francke's explanation of Li-byin is solely invented to suit his case and his own conveniences; it is not borne out or upheld by any Tibetan tradition, it is even impossible in the spirit of the Tibetan language. The word *li*, it is true, designates 'Khotan,' but it has other meanings also: it signifies 'bell-metal' and 'apple'; with the suffix *-ka* it denotes a certain tree and with the suffix *-ba* it means 'squinting'; it appears in a number of compounds, and further transcribes several Chinese characters reading *li*. The word *byin* never has the meaning 'glory'; it means 'blessing' only in certain fixed combinations, as *byin-gyis rlob-pa*, *byin brlabs*, etc. ('to bless'). It is never used, however, in the absolute or purely abstract sense of 'blessing,' as Francke would have us believe. As previously stated, the element *byin* in proper names either represents a translation of Sanskrit *datta*, as, for instance, *gSan-ba byin* = *Guhya-datta* (Tāranātha, 147), *Ye-śes byin* = *Jñānadatta* (*ibid.* 212), *Ts'ans byin* = *Brahmadatta*, *Mya-nan med-kyis byin-pa* = *Açokadatta*, *gSer byin* = *Hemadatta*, etc.; but it is never the noun *byin* visualized by Francke. A name of such a type as 'Blessing of Khotan' has no analogy in Tibetan literature, and is a plain absurdity on the very face of it. It is merely a personal fancy, but Francke and Hoernle are so enraptured with it that they accept as a well substantiated fact what at the best might be regarded as a bold hypothesis. Says Dr. Hoernle literally: 'He (T'on-mi) had come into contact with a Brāhman from Khotan, whom the Tibetan tradition calls Li-byin or 'Blessing of Khotan,' and that Brahman taught him the alphabet of his own country. This, in effect, means that the alphabet, as introduced into Tibet, is the alphabet of Khotan, Li being the well-known Tibetan name of Khotan. It is not the alphabet of India . . . To judge by the Tibetan tradition he (T'on-mi) was saved the completion of his journey through the lucky accident of meeting, on his way in Kashmir, with a learned Brāhman from Khotan, who could supply him with the information he was in search of.' Again, he speaks of the Khotanese Brahman Li-byin from whom the Tibetan scholar T'on-mi is said to have learned his alphabet. Further he hazards the assertion: 'It has been stated already that Tibetan tradition distinctly refers to Li-yul, the land of Li, i. e. Khotan, as the country of origin of its alphabet.' This statement is

downright fiction: Tibetan tradition has nothing whatever about Li-yul in the history of writing. This manner of argumentation is baffling and beyond my comprehension: Dr. Hoernle fearlessly advances as historical facts what is merely inferred from the imaginary and arbitrary dissection of a name—a singular instance of history-making!

The only documentary evidence on which Francke's conclusions are based is presented by the Tibetan chronicle of the Kings of Ladākḥ in the edition of E. Schlagintweit. This work is widely different from the older and more complete *rGyal rabs gsal-bai me-lon*²⁵ of Central Tibet, and as far as the history of the Central-Tibetan kings is concerned, gives merely a much abridged and corrupted version of the older standard book, written in A. D. 1328.²⁶ Now we have known for a long time

²⁵ This title does not mean, as translated by Francke and Hoernle 'Bright mirror of the line of kings,' but 'Mirror clearly setting forth the genealogy of kings.'

²⁶ Francke, for the benefit of his speculations, argues that the West-Tibetan record strikes him as being the more original of the two. He pleads also that 'the West-Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian Nāgarī alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation' (*Epigraphia Indica*, 11. 267). This argumentation is inadmissible: it is a sound principle of historical criticism that the older source is the purer source, and that the original merits preference over the later work copied after it. It is a comfortable method to brand as interpolation what does not suit one's preconceived idea.—A strange assertion occurs on p. 269 of the same article. Here Francke states that 'we have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Sui shu*, where it is stated that such characters were used in the empire [*sic*] of the Eastern Women (Guge), etc.' The source is not quoted; the *Sui shu* contains nothing of the kind, and in fact maintains silence as to any writing in the Women's Kingdom, as every one may convince himself from reading this chapter in Rockhill's translation (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 339). In the *T'ang shu* it is said that the written characters of the Women's Kingdom are the same as those of India (see, for instance, Bushell, *Early History of Tibet*, p. 98); but this is merely due to the well-known confusion of the two Women's Kingdoms and the information of Hsüan Tsang misplaced and smuggled into the New History of the T'ang, as has been shown particularly by Pelliot (*T'oung Pao*, 1912. 358). This reference to writing in fact has nothing to do with the Eastern Women's Kingdom. Moreover Francke is wrong in placing it in Western Tibet; on the contrary, it embraced parts of Eastern Tibet, bordering in the east on Mao-chou in Se-ch'uan and the Tañ-hiañ, in the south-east on Ya-chou in Se-ch'uan.

how the matter about Schlagintweit's text stands. K. Marx, a Moravian missionary than whom no one was more intimately familiar with the history of Ladākh, has shown with able criticism that this copy was specially prepared for his brother H. Schlagintweit by three Lamas, and that from folio 30 on 'the text is merely a meaningless jumble of words, culled at random from the original and put together in such a way that only a careful examination of the text by one who knows the language could reveal the fraud.'²⁷ Not only in that portion pointed out by Marx, but also in the preceding portions, the Schlagintweit text is so hopelessly faulty, mutilated, and corrupt that it forfeits any claim to historical value. It must be positively denied that any such far-reaching conclusions to which Francke and his champion Hoernle are inclined can be deduced from it. Without being aware of the criticism of Marx, Francke even thought it a useful task to publish a new translation of Schlagintweit's text, for which no other editions were consulted.²⁸ Such lack of critical faculty can only lead to error and disaster. It is solely Schlagintweit's text in which it is stated that T'on-mi on his mission betook himself to Kashmir (*K'a-č'e*), while all texts of the large and real edition of the *rGyal-rabs*, inclusive of its Mongol and Kalmuk translations, agree on the reading that he traveled to India (*rGya-gar*). If the Schlagintweit text be correct, this is merely the local Ladākh, not the general Tibetan, tradition. Marx justly observed: 'Any ms, specially prepared by a native of Ladākh for a foreigner, is apt to be less reliable than others of independent origin, for the reason, which would especially be true regarding historical documents, that the copyist will have a tendency to slightly alter the text, in the interest of his master, religion, or country, suppressing such facts as may seem derogatory to their fame, and substituting for phrases liable to be misunderstood others of a less equivocal character.' It is not difficult to see how the Ladākh tradition may have arisen. Sum-pa mk'an-po, in his remarkable work *dPag bsam ljon bzai*,²⁹ has T'on-mi go to India, and says that on his return to Tibet he prepared the alphabet *dbu-čan* in the

²⁷ *JASB* 60, pt. 1 (1891). 97-98.

²⁸ *JASB* 6 (1910). 393.

²⁹ Ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, p. 167.

royal castle Ma-ru of Lhasa by taking as model the forms of the letters of Kashmir, and instituted the *dbu-med* writing in harmony with the Wartu script. It is plausible to a high degree that T'on-mi concluded his work in Lhasa, after submitting his scheme to the approval of his royal master. Certainly it was not necessary for him to make a trip to Kashmir in order to get hold of Kashmir writing; that was procurable as well in Magadha.

The sentence from the Schlagintweit text to which Hoernle³⁰ attributes so much importance meets with no exact parallel in the large *rGyal-rabs*: it is simply corrupt, and the word *riñs* is meaningless; probably we have to read *rañ* (*drug rañ b'cos-nas* 'he himself made six new letters,' for this is required in accordance with the text of the large *rGyal-rabs*).³¹ Francke's translation 'they formed 24 *gsal-byed* [consonants] and 6 *riñs*'³² demonstrates that he is ignorant of the elementary rules of Tibetan grammar: for the numeral is always placed behind the noun (as we have in this very sentence *gsal-byed ñi šu rtsa b'zi*), or, if the numeral precedes the noun, which rarely occurs, it must be followed by the suffix of the genitive.³³ What Hoernle distils from this sentence is purely fantastic.

In 1905 A. H. Francke pointed out certain similarities between the Tibetan alphabet and the Brāhmī of Kashgar.³⁴ A sensible French critic³⁵ remarked with reference to these surface comparisons: 'This proves nothing for the origin of one or the other; the resemblance disclosed by Dr. P. Cordier between the Tibetan alphabet and that of the Gupta of the seventh century A. D. are interesting otherwise.' In the same manner Dr. L. A. Waddell³⁶ justly remarks that the forms of the Tibetan letters themselves declare their origin from the developing Indian Devanāgarī characters at the stage to which they had attained

³⁰ *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Lit.* p. xxxii.

³¹ The chapter concerning the introduction of writing is reprinted in Si-tui Sum-rtags' *Tibetan Grammar*, 139 *et seq.* (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1895). See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 327.

³² *Epigraphia Indica*, 11 (1912). 267.

³³ Foucaux, *Grammaire de la langue tibétaine*, § 49.

³⁴ *Memoirs As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1. 43-45.

³⁵ *Bull. de l'École française*, 6. 446.

³⁶ *JRAS* 1909. 946.

in mid-India in the seventh century A. D., and, it would appear, not any earlier, as a reference to the fine photographic illustrations of Indian inscriptions of that period in Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3, will show. These help to make it clear that the so-called Tibetan letters bear a strong family resemblance to those of the somewhat florid style which Fleet has called 'the Kuṭiḷa variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A. D.' Many of the letters are identical in shape. Sten Konow³⁷ rightly observes, in a note to Francke's article: 'The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity.' And Dr. Vogel, after careful study, presents the conclusion that the Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Northern Indian script which was used in the seventh century. This evidence has not been discussed or even antagonized by Dr. Hoernle.³⁸ On the other hand, his juxtaposition of the Khotanese and Tibetan alphabets is by no means convincing in proving a close relationship between the two. A glance at plate IV of Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* and the work cited by Dr. Waddell is sufficient to show that the Tibetan alphabet stands much closer to those of mid-India than of Khotan, and that the Tibetan tradition in its general features is perfectly correct. In all his theoretical speculations and his eagerness to prove his unfortunate theory, Dr. Hoernle entirely loses sight of the fact that the Khotanese alphabet itself hails from India. His investigation, moreover, is vitiated by a methodological error. The writing of Khotan is throughout compared with the Tibetan alphabet in its modern printed form instead of with the oldest accessible forms of the inscriptions and the manuscripts of the ninth century. No regard, for instance, is taken of the fact that in the beginning the plain consonant did not imply the letter *a*, but that *a* was written alongside it,³⁹ and that there were two graphic forms of the vowel *i*. Further, we have to be mindful of the

³⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, 11. 269.

³⁸ *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Lit.* p. XIX.

³⁹ Csoma, *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, p. 5, who says that this was the case also with the other vowels; Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, 1914. 52.

fact that we do not yet possess a single specimen of Tibetan writing of the seventh century, so that it is premature to render a positive verdict on what this writing was.

The historical proof on which the Khotanese theory is founded is likewise a failure. Hoernle asserts that according to Tibetan tradition Khotan fell under the domination of Tibet in the seventh century under Sroñ-btsan sgam-po, invoking as his authority Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (p. 211). True it is, Rockhill writes in this passage: 'Sroñ-btsan ascended the throne of Tibet in his thirteenth year, and the neighboring states recognized him as their sovereign, so that his rule extended over the whole of Tibet, to the north as far as Khotan, which during his reign became subject to China, and to the east to China.'⁴⁰ This statement, however, is at the best merely an illogical combination of Chinese accounts with the erroneous Tibetan chronology, which makes Sroñ-btsan live up to A. D. 698, while in fact, according to the Chinese annals, he died in A. D. 650. Neither Sanañ Setsen nor the Bodhimör, the Kalmuk translation of the Tibetan *rGyal rabs*, the only native sources which, in the translation of I. J. Schmidt, Rockhill utilized for his sketch of Tibetan history, make any mention of Khotan with reference to Sroñ-btsan's reign, nor does the Tibetan *rGyal-rabs*. The Chinese annals likewise are perfectly silent as to Khotan in the report of the life and deeds of Luñ-tsan (= Sroñ-btsan). In reality, the relations of Tibet with Khotan begin only from A. D. 670 when the Tibetans conquered the Four Garrisons (Kucha, Khotan, Tokmak, and Kashgar), which they lost again to the Chinese in A. D. 692.⁴¹ Thus Khotan was entirely beyond the reach of the Tibetans during the lifetime of King Sroñ-btsan, and Hoernle's theory is a fallacy.

Finally we may raise the question: if the theory of Francke and Hoernle is true, why does a tradition to this effect not crop out in the literature of the Tibetans? Or, in other words, why should such a tradition, if it ever existed, have been suppressed? As is well known, there are Tibetan works on Khotan embodied

⁴⁰ For the rest Rockhill follows an utterly impossible chronology as to the life of the king, placing his birth in A. D. 600 and T'on-mi's missions to India in A. D. 616.

⁴¹ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 114, 281.

in the Kanjur and Tanjur⁴²; the *Gośṛṅgavyākaraṇa* in the Kanjur was translated from the language of Khotan, and Śiladharmā, a Bhikṣu from Khotan, collaborated in the translation of the Kanjur work no. 242.⁴³ Architects were summoned from Khotan by King K'ri-lde sroṅ-btsan for the building of a monastery.⁴⁴ The Tibetans do not shy at admitting their debt to Khotan whenever occasion arises; but they are persistent in pointing to India as the cradle of their writing and literature. It was from India that Sanskrit Buddhist literature was transmitted to Tibet, it was from India and Kashmir that Buddhist missionaries entered Tibet to preach the gospel of Buddha. The role of Khotan in this respect was reduced to a minimum. Surely, Turkistanitis is a new form of learned disease.

⁴² Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 231.

⁴³ Regarding Śiladharmā see Pelliot, *Journal asiatique*, 1914, 2. 135.

⁴⁴ Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, 1908. 5.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ABLATIVE CASE

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THE CHIEF FACTS in regard to this case are these: it is the only case without special ending in the plural; it has no sign except in the Sanskrit *ā*-, Greek-Latin *ō*-declension; this particular declension is that of pronouns as well as nouns. The inference reasonably drawn from these facts is that the ablative was originally a case confined to the singular of the *ā*-declension; it is usually assumed also that it came into the noun-declension from the pronoun. The form *ὅπου* 'whence' leads to (Delphic) *ὅκω* 'from the house.'

Obvious objections to the facts as here stated are that besides *-ōd* in Latin we have such forms as *praidād*, *airīd*, and that *vacāt* is an Avestan parallel to *praidād*.¹ Nevertheless it is generally agreed that these sporadic departures are (like *amūšmād*) due to analogy (Avestan parallels are late) and do not represent an original *d*-ablative in other declensions. It is admitted, however, that the *ō*-declension had this ablative apart from pronouns, as it is not only Latin, but (Oscan) Italic (*saka-aklūd*), as well as Slavic (as 'genitive').

In Sanskrit *asmād* has generally expelled *ād*, but, as the *sm*-forms are recognized as double forms (cf. *e-sm-ei* and *pu-sm-e* in Umbrian for *huic* and *cui*), we may deal directly with the simple forms, *ād* and *tād* as ablative (parallel to *áśvād* = *equōd*) of the pronouns *a* and *ta* (stems).

The meaning of the ablative in Latin is confused with that of the instrumental and to a less degree with that of the locative. In Sanskrit the ablative indicates primarily a 'then' and 'thence' idea, leading to a causal notion and almost to the designation of an agent. 'Thence' becomes 'because of' (*énasah* 'because of sin'), but it rarely assumes instrumental sense, though in Avestan 'loved by' may be expressed, as to

¹ The ending *-ed* is adverbial, due to accent: *facillimé(d)*. In Sk. the ending might be *-āt* or *-ād*, probably with *d* (pace Kappas, *Der indog. Abl.*).

the agent, with the ablative. Yet we shall see that this is not entirely unknown in the Vedic language. The most remarkable syntactical fact is that the ablative as a separate case-form appears to be quite unnecessary. The Greek and Slavic forms are either adverbial or of genitival relation; Teutonic 'dative' does duty for the idea. Even in Sanskrit, Vedic plurals serving for dative and ablative are usually dative; there is, in fact, no real need for the case. Its various functions are represented well enough by dative, genitive, and instrumental (in some cases by locative). For this reason it tends to die out, even when it has established itself.

Our next group of facts regarding the ablative has to do with the personal pronouns. Here the so-called stem *mād*, etc., serves as ablative, thus: *mād* (or *māt*), *āvād*, *asmād*; *tvād*, *yuvād*, *yusmād*; the dual forms being sporadic for the usual *āvābhyām* and *yuvābhyām*.² The distinction in a compound between this ablative and the stem is simply one of accent: *māt-kṛtam* is 'me-made.' The ending is that of *tād*, *illud*. But, as if *mād* were not always felt as sufficiently 'ablative,' we have also, in AV. 6. 20. 1, *mattās*, in which there is added to the stem-ablative the ending *-tas* found in *tātas*, *ātas* (Slavic *otu*): *mattó vilāpannāpāyati* 'he shall go weeping from me.' If we would get the true semantic quality of the ablative, we must examine the nature of this *-tas*, which is Indo-European.

In Greek *ἐκρός* and *ἐντός* it is evident that the idea of 'from' lies in the *ἐκ* rather than in the *τός*; *ἐντός* is not 'from within,' but 'on the inner side,' though all such examples easily pass into a 'whence'-meaning. Latin has a large number of compounds of this sort, many of which show a merely adverbial force: *claritus*, *simplicitus*. *Persae originitus Scythae* is rather 'by birth' than 'from'; *divinitus* is like *humanitus* ('in a human manner'), though by inference the 'from'-idea is easily found in it. Thus it stands in contrast to *casu*, and (*qui sciat*) *divinitus* is 'prophetically.' So *pugnitus* is 'with the fists'; *communitus* is 'in common'; *medullitus* is not 'from' (*amat*), but more 'to' ('keeps cold to the marrow,' with *servat*); *antiquitus* is 'in ancient times.' Plautus uses *primitus* in the sense 'at first' (not 'from the beginning'), and Terence uses *publi-*

² Compare Avestan *thwāt* and *thwāt* and Latin *tēd*, treated as accusative.

citus as 'in public' or 'on the public account.' So *penitus* and *funditus* are rather 'at' than 'from.' A very good example is *subtus* with 'fight' in contrast to 'above earth.' Here the meaning is 'fight below,' not 'from below.' So *intus* with the genitive is 'within' (*intus aedium* 'within the house') and may even mean 'into' as well as 'out of,' as in Skt. *ita ehi* is 'come hither' (not 'hence').

In these Latin forms the ending corresponds throughout to that of the Skt. *-tas*, which may at times be interpreted 'from,' but also signifies 'at' and even 'to.' The adverbial use comes earlier in pronouns than in nouns, if we may judge from the fact that the latter are common later rather than earlier, while the former are always common. Moreover, the use of the early examples demonstrates clearly that the 'from'-idea in nouns is really not only negligible but incorrect. We have to do, in many examples, not with such apparent parallels as *ex equo pugnant* and *a tergo*, where a motion-source is referred to instead of its place—for this is merely an idiomatic difference and the 'ablative-idea' is clear, though opposed to our way of speaking—but rather with a form which is intrinsically neutral, simply indicating place, but tending to the 'whence'-idea. There are several Vedic expressions which will not admit the 'whence'-idea. 'Black are the spaces on the trail of the Fire, at his feet,' *patsutás* (RV. 8. 43. 6). Here, as if to guard against the notion that the thought is 'from his feet,' *-tas* is added (not, as usual, to the stem, but) to the declined word in the locative plural. Every Vedic scholar will think of the parallel in RV. 1. 32. 8, *patsutahśī*, where the root of the verb *śī* (कैरति) is added as part of the compound to the same *patsutás* and the dragon 'at-feet-lying' of the victor cannot be thought of as 'lying from' because the locative gives the position. If 'lie' usually went with the ablative or if motion were implied, as when an ablative idea is sometimes expressed by adding a 'from' to a locative (as in Russian *iz-za-stola*), it would be a different matter, but it is never construed with an ablative nor with a preposition indicative of 'ablative' conception. Hence when we find in Avestan *zemada sayanem* (Yt. 14. 31), we must, as the sense requires, translate 'lying on the earth' or, if *sayanem* be rejected, render the ablative as 'on' simply, and not attempt to see 'from' in the case ('he sees on the earth').

If we take the old-fashioned attitude toward the cases adopted by Delbrück and Whitney, it is easy to assume that all ablative phenomena represent either an original or a weakened 'from'-force. Thus Whitney (1098 e): 'The distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value.' This attitude is Delbrück's, who also discusses whether the locative was originally an 'in' or a 'within' case. With a more catholic view it becomes clear that no case begins with a special narrow meaning. From the beginning the locative connotes 'in, at, on' (in space or time) as much as 'within.' So too the ablative, which history shows has started in so narrow a province as the singular of one declension, must be examined without undue deference to a theory. The first step is to recognize two facts, both that in the personal pronouns there is no ablative form other than the stem (that the 'me-made' expression implies but does not express 'made by me,' etc.), and that as *-tas* is an alternative ablative ending (*anyátas*, for example, is the Vedic ablative of *anyá*), the meanings of this ending must be enlisted, and a selection must not be made of them to the neglect of others.

Of course many of the instances are neutral; one may render *ántitas* with 'see' as 'from near' or 'anear'; in antithesis to *dūrát* it is 'from,' especially with a verb of motion. I do not wish to ignore these neutral or adverse cases, but, since they have often enough been exploited, to focus attention on some instances deserving of more consideration than they have received.

Adverbial (prepositional) *-tas*-forms are not common; *parítas* (PWb. 'allerwärts') occurs first in AV. and takes accusative or genitive in later usage. In AV. it means 'on all sides' or 'roundabout.' In AV. 10. 7. 38 it governs the accusative: 'like branches of a tree roundabout the trunk.' So out of the twenty odd cases of *abhítas*, used as adverb or as preposition with accusative, the meaning 'round about,' *sástv ayám abhíto jánaḥ* (7. 55. 5), is the earliest. Thus 'thine is this wealth which one sees round about,' and 'thine are all the herds thou seest round about' (1. 53. 3; 7. 98. 6). So in 7. 103. 7, 'singing around,' and even in 5. 30. 10, 'cows lowed around,' it is difficult to conjure up an ablative. And what shall we say of *abhíto mā níṣeda* 'sit before me' (7. 59. 7) and *vahatā 'bhíto rátham* 'bring

the car hither' (10. 53. 7). Obviously the *abhí*, not the *-tas*, determines the sense. The verb, too, is characteristically not one of motion from: 'thou holdest firm the earth on all sides,' 7. 99. 3; 'stand round the angry lion,' 5. 15. 3; 'kill the dogs around,' 1. 182. 4. The *-tas* is, in the light of the much stronger *abhí*, as with *pári*, almost negligible; at least it is not 'ablative.'

But in *viśvátas* there is no other directive element; it is 'all' in adverbial form, as 'on all sides,' which of course can often be rendered 'from all sides,' just as *ubhayátas* may be one or the other, though when it is said that the sun's 'beams extend *ubhayátas*' it is really more 'to both sides' than 'from,' just as 'the sun wanders,' completed by *ubhayátas*, is probably 'on both sides' (5. 81. 4; 9. 86. 6). This is the case with a mass of 'guard' ('protect' us or our wealth) expressions. Yet even here the really ablative idea is brought out by adding *pári*, as in *pári pāsi viśvátas* (1. 31. 15), *pári pātu viśvátas* (6. 75. 14). Thus 'from all sides we call thee' is *viśvátas pári havāmahe* (1. 7. 10), as 'from the sea' is *samudrāt pári* (1. 47. 6) and 'from here' is *átas pári* (1. 108. 7). The word *viśvátas* alone, so far from expressing the ablative notion, may be joined with the opposite idea, as in the standing phrase illustrated by 10. 79. 5, *viśvátas pratyáñi asi tvám*, and 2. 10. 5, *á viśvátas pratyáñcam jigharmi*, 'fronting to all sides.' One who has a mouth on all sides is *viśvátomukhaḥ* (1. 97. 5-6), namely Fire, whose beams 'go forward on every side,' *prá yánti* (ib.). In 2. 1. 12 'wealth extends on or to all sides' is *viśvátas prthúh*. As Fire gives the wealth it is rather 'to' than 'from' which *-tas* indicates. Quite neutral is *viśvátas ápratītaḥ* of Indra unequalled 'in all respects' (3. 46. 3). Compare 'a mountain broad all around'; 'fire kindled on every side'; 'supports on every side'; 'thou goest everywhere' (9. 83. 1); 'ruling everywhere'; 'you purify everywhere (or altogether).' In all the stereotyped Soma formulas there is scarcely an instance of 'from,' only of 'on' or the 'wholly'-idea. So the sacrifice is extended on (or to, not from) all sides (10. 130. 1) and the allegorical chariot extends 'in all directions' (10. 135. 3). Finally, as Fire has a mouth on all sides and 'eyes everywhere' (10. 81. 2), so Indra is *viśvátodhī*, 'with thought directed to all,' certainly not 'from all' (8. 34. 6; 'überall hin merkend,' *PWb.*).

But, it may be said, do not the adverbs show that *-tas* is 'ablative'? Just as much as other forms. Thus *kúto ádhi prájātam* 'from what is (the divine mind) born?' (1. 164. 18), because *kútas* alone is not ablative enough. The generalized *kútaś-cit* (*-cana*) shows this point: 'fair to see for help established anywhere' (Grassmann: 'überall'). When a verb meaning 'overcome' or 'assail' is used, the meaning of course may be rendered by 'anywhere' or 'from any quarter' (2. 23. 5; 7. 82. 7; etc.), and perhaps in *kó veda yāta ābabhūva* 'who knows where (whence) it arose' (10. 129. 6) or *kūta á jātāh*, though birth and origin do not necessarily require more than a locative idea, *kvā svij jātāh* (10. 168. 3). But in general the pronouns actually have *-tas* forms as their ablatives. Thus, as *anyātas* is ablative, so are *itās* and *tātas* (*nāta īsate* 'flees not from him,' 5. 34. 4). And in accordance with this the pronoun adverb or ablative (RV. has *ātas*, *itās*, *tātas*, *yātas*, *kūtas*, *amūtas*, *anyātas*, and *āntitas*, *abhītas*) directs, so to speak, the real ablative into a more ablative meaning, so that what in itself expresses a general relation becomes drawn into a more specific conception.

As for *-tas* with nouns, *āgratas* is 'in the beginning' and 'at the head' ('born,' RV., and 'marches,' AV.). So *madhyatās* is 'in the middle' (8. 2. 9), though with *ūdhrtam*, which implies an 'out,' it is 'from the middle' (3. 21. 5); to lead a horse *mukhatās* is to lead it 'by the mouth' (1. 162. 2)³; *dakṣīnatās* with the genitive is 'on the right' and *savyatās* is 'on the left' (*nī sādī*, 2. 11. 18). To turn to the right is also expressed with *dakṣīnatās* (2. 42. 3, etc.). Purely adverbial is *samānatās* 'similarly' (4. 51. 8). Correlative with a locative, *jāne*, is *maryatās* 'among the wooers' (10. 27. 12), and *avārātās* means 'to this side' in 10. 65. 6 ('nach diesseits,' PWb.). Such correlation with a locative and dependence on the situation shows that *-tas* and its equivalent ablative wait for guidance to determine their directive force. Hence it is that in Old Persian an ablative does not stand alone but is accompanied with *haca*, while, as we have seen, in old Avestan the ablative means 'on' as well as 'from.' But the locative and the verb 'lie' may also accompany *-tas*, which is thus a place-adverb of general inference.

³ Cf. 6. 3. 4, a horse controlled *āsā* 'by the mouth,' instrumental.

When we turn to the personal pronominal ablative, which is merely the stem, we find a directive word almost always used with the so-called ablative. Thus *ví mác chrathaya* 'loosen from me' and *ápošú myakša . . . māt* (2. 28. 5-6); *ārē māt* (2. 29. 1); *tvád ārē* (2. 28. 6); *ārē asmád* (10. 63. 12); *ápa hí mád aiyeh* (5. 2. 8); *ápa sma māt (tarásantī) atrasan* (10. 95. 8); but *tvád rejete . . . bhīšā* (8. 97. 14); cf. *yusmád bhiyá* (7. 60. 10), *asmád īsate* (8. 45. 37).⁴ The same apartness is given by *ṛté*, besides *ārē*, as in *ná ṛté tvát kriyate kimcanāré* (10. 112. 9). These are all the instances of *māt* except after a comparative or *anyá* and one instance where the ablative approaches an ablative of agent. In regard to the first, the phrase *bhavadanya* shows that a mere stem may do duty for an ablative and induces the converse conviction that in *anyám pátim māt* (10. 10. 10) the last word may be stem alone.⁵ Comparatives are represented by two cases of *māt*: *ná māt strī subhasáttarā* (10. 86. 6) and *yáthā mád ádharam vādān* (10. 166. 3)—both in the tenth book. The agent-like form is found in 6. 67. 2, *iyám mád vām prá strīṇte manīśopa . . . barhír áccha* 'the hymn is sent forth to you from me,' almost (and certainly implying) 'by me' (Ludwig, 'meinerseits').

The second person also is usually accompanied with a directive adverb: *ā tvád abhí mām agacchat* 'came hither from thee to me' (10. 98. 2); *mā tvád rāṣṭrām ádhi bhraśat* 'may power not fall from thee' (10. 173. 1); *út te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm tvát pári* (10. 18. 13); *ví tvád yanti* (6. 34. 1); *tvád dhí ví yanti* (3. 14. 6); *ví tvád anayanta* (6. 24. 6); *tvád úd īrate* (5. 27. 7); *tvád ā . . . praketaḥ* 'wisdom hither (comes) from thee' (3. 30. 1); also with comparatives and *anyá* (*tvád anyāh*; 1. 84. 6, 19; 1. 57. 4; etc.); with *ṛté* and *ārē* (7. 11. 1; 2. 28. 6); with fear, *tvád bhiyānāḥ* (4. 22. 6). There are few pure ablatives: *tvád vāvakre* (7. 21. 3); *tát . . . imāhe dātrām tvát* 'we seek that gift from thee' (8. 43. 33); *tvád ukthā*

⁴ 'Fear' is joined regularly with the pure ablative.

⁵ Cf. *tvadanya, madanya* (BHU.). The ablative may displace the natural objective, 'my wishes never go elsewhere than (to) thee' *anyāthā tvád*, 8. 24. 11-15 (*vīrataras tvát*). Cf. the stem in *asmātsakhā* (6. 47. 26), *mātsakhā* (10. 86. 1). In *nahí tvád anyāḥ (āsti mardītā)*, 8. 66. 13, the ablative is as much stem as in *tvadanya* or in *anyākṛtam* (2. 28. 9). In the plural, *anyám asmāt* (1. 129. 10; 2. 33. 11; 8. 75. 13), *kīm anyé pāryāsate 'smāt* (8. 8. 8).

jāyante 'born from thee' and *tvád eti dráviṇam* 'from thee comes wealth' (4. 11. 3, 4; cf. *yusmád eti*, 5. 58. 4); *má tvát kṣétrāny áraṇāni ganma* 'may we not go from thee to strange lands' (6. 61. 14). In *má bhūma niṣṭyā ivéndra tvád áraṇā iva* (8. 1. 13), *tvád* depends on the *nís*-force, not on *áranāh*.

Much more numerous are the instances in the plural, but they offer nothing entirely new.⁶ Yet the greater number of examples shows more clearly that the ablative, while not absolutely dependent upon a directive word with the stem, is normally under its influence. Thus with verbs of releasing, *pra-muc*, *vi-muc*, *vi-yu*, *vi-srath*; *asmád pári* (*jajñe*, 10. 45. 1); *ví* or *úpa dás* (1. 129. 15; 1. 139. 5); *má asmád ví dāsīt*, just like *vy ásmád etu durmatīh* and *úpa asmád etu durmatīh* (7. 1. 21; 8. 67. 15); *asmád á nidāh . . . ajeta durmatīm* (1. 129. 6). The *á* and *ádhi* forms deserve special consideration. The former plays a varied rôle: *ety asmád á* 'comes hither on our side,' to us (5. 56. 3); *vy ásmád á káṣṭhā árvate var* 'open for us [from us?] the course for the runner' (1. 63. 5); *vártir asmád á arvág rátham ní yachatam* 'direct the car hither to us' (1. 92. 16). With this meaning should be compared *náro yé ké cā 'smád á* 'whichever men are on our side, are ours' (10. 20. 8) and *asmát sújātaḥ* 'hero on our side' or 'our hero' (10. 99. 7), or *asmád dhṛdó ví caṣṭe* (10. 5. 1; cf. *hṛdá á ví caṣṭe*, 1. 24. 12). In such cases an *ádhi* may be joined with locative or ablative. The adverb-postposition is more important than the case. When *á* is in a clause with an ablative implication — *imá vāco asmád á . . . sám agmata (asmai)* 'these words have come from us to him' (10. 91. 12), *te . . . asmád á* 'from us to thee' (8. 74. 7)⁷—the weak implication is locally strengthened, as when

⁶ With *āré* (some half dozen cases) are sometimes joined words merely implying separation. Thus with *vi-muc* of steeds and *āré* with abl., *māré asmád ví mumucaḥ . . . ásvān* 'do not halt far from us' (3. 41. 8). So *māré asmán maghavañ jyók kaḥ*, etc. (7. 22. 6; 7. 32. 1); *āré asmát* (8. 2. 20); *mā no gáyam āré asmát párá sicaḥ* 'do not dissipate wealth far away from us' (9. 81. 3); *úpa duṣkṛtāny āré asmád dadhātu* (10. 164. 3).

⁷ *iyám te návyasī matir ágne adhāyy asmád á*, S. as *asmāsu* and *te* as *tava*, though by analogy with *asmai* above more like dative (to or for). But it is questionable whether any Vedic poet distinguished a genitive from a dative *te*.

āpa is used, so that we may say there are three stages: *śárum asmád yuyotum* (7. 71. 1); *yuyótā śárum asmád ā* (8. 18. 11); and *ārē asmád yuyota* (10. 63. 12). In 9. 105. 6 *sánemi* . . . *asmád ā údevam* is followed by *āpa dvayúm*; but *asmád āpa* . . . *suva* (10. 37. 4), *asmád āpa gūha*, *asmád āpa dvīṣo yuyodhī* (8. 11. 3), and the *vī*-forms with *muc* (7. 88. 7, etc.) illustrate the second stage. The first is scarcely more ablative than is a dative case, 'dispel us the foe.' The second is made ablative by the adverb-preposition, 'dispel off (from) us.' The third is emphatic, 'dispel afar (from) us the foe.' The older hymns, however, show a preference for the ablative without the directive adverb. Thus *sánemy asmád yuyavann āmīvāḥ* (7. 38. 7); *té víśvā 'smád duritā yāvayantu* (7. 44. 3); *sánemy asmád yuyótā didyúm* (7. 56. 9; also *énas*, 1. 189. 1; *asmád yuyodhy āmīvāḥ*, 1. 189. 3); *yuyodhy àsmád dvēṣāṃsi* (2. 6. 4). But an unusual verb or emphasis has the adverb: *vy àsmád dvēṣo vitarám* . . . *cātayasvā* (2. 33. 2); *jārethām asmád ví* 'sing away (the sinner's design) from us' (3. 58. 2).

The verbal use here is confined to the prepositions enumerated above with two exceptions. These are *prāti vidhyā 'dhy asmát* 'strike (fight against) for us' (4. 4. 5) and *ná té ta índrā 'bhy àsmád ṛṣvā 'yuktāso abrahmatā yád āsan* (5. 33. 3). The former must be a parallel to *mā pañir bhūr asmád ādhi* 'be not niggard toward us' (1. 33. 3)—*ādhi* as in *ādhi-vac* with dative of regard. The latter must be joined with *abhī*, and the ablative is also one of general relation, 'these were not unto us' (not 'superior to us'), though both *abhī* and *abhī-as* (so Grassmann) regularly take the accusative. Compare *mó śú vo asmád abhī tāni paūṃsyā sánā bhūvan dyumnāni mótā jāriṣur asmát purā* 'your deeds in regard to us shall not grow old' (1. 139. 8).⁸

The most interesting cases are those like the quasi-instrumental use already referred to. In 7. 34. 1, *prā* . . . *etu manīṣā asmát* 'this prayer go forth from us,' the motion is still plain; in 6. 74. 3, *kṛtām éno asmát* is to be construed with *áva syatam muñcátam* 'release from us the sin committed.' In 5. 57. 1, *iyám vo asmát prāti haryate matīḥ*, the hymn is almost 'offered by us,' yet wavers between the full agent-ablative and source-ablative. But in 4. 41. 1, (*stómaḥ*) *asmád uktāḥ*, the

⁸ With *asmát purā* cf. *pūrvo asmát*, 10. 53. 1; 10. 54. 3.

laudation is 'spoken by us'; cf. 1. 134. 2, *mandantu tvā . . . indavo 'smāt krāṇāsaḥ* 'may these drops delight thee, prepared by us' ('us-prepared,' like *mātkṛtam*). In 1. 144. 3, *bhāgo ná hāvyaḥ sām asmād ā* means 'to be called (invoked) by us like Bhaga,' or 'called hither to us,'⁹ but in 10. 144. 6, *krátvāyām asmād ā sutāḥ* is virtually 'Soma pressed by us (on our part)'; so 7. 95. 5, *yuṣmād ā jūhvānāḥ* 'offered on your part.'

Let us now sum up the results of what we have found and see whether they aid us in establishing a reasonable explanation of the phenomena. Adverbs in *-tas* indicate place where as well as from, and when used with nouns the same ending is as much 'at' as 'from': *agratās* 'at first'; *patsutaḥ-ṣī* 'lying at feet' (locative); *maryatās* 'among the wooers'; so the preposition determines the sense in *abhītas* 'before, around' (not 'from'), 'hither'; in *viśvātas* 'on' or 'from'; *viśvātodhī* 'thinking in (or to) all sides.' This agrees with the use of *-ros* and *-tus* in Greek and Latin; it may be defined as a place-ending tending strongly to express ablative-relation. It is added to nouns in the ablative to strengthen the weaker ablative sense of the ablative-form, which in itself usually requires a directive adverb to bring out the sense. In the personal pronouns the so-called ablative is nothing but the stem, and to give full ablative-sense we have *ādhi*, *pāri*, *ā*, etc.. *tvāt pāri*, *tvād ādhi*, or *-tas*, *mattās*, seldom an ablative form alone. When united with a participle, as in *asmād uktās*, we have instrumental sense equivalent to the stem used for instrumental, *mātkṛtam* with *anyākṛtam*. The pure ablative after 'fear' exchanges in Sanskrit with the genitive and with *prāti* + accusative. This (fear) 'at' (or 'in regard to') is really the idea of the 'ablative,' which would sometimes have a 'from'-word if it meant 'from' (like *muc*, *yu*, etc.). In other words, the idea is not 'shrink from' but 'fright at' (or 'before').¹⁰

In Greek the ablative-notion was never fully developed; it was so weak as an independent notion that it was easily carried by the source-idea of the genitive. In Sanskrit also the ablative

⁹ As in 1. 92. 6, and so Grassmann, but better 'von uns aus' with Ludwig, who, however, renders 'kommt zu uns' in 10. 144. 6.

¹⁰ 'From' (*vī*) is used only with the causative and not with abl. In 6. 14. 4, *yāsya trāsanti śāvasaḥ samcākṣi śātravo bhiyā*, *śāvasaḥ* is abl. after *bhiyā* (not gen. with *samcākṣi*).

easily passed into the genitive, as *cirasya* for *cirāt* and 'fear' with genitive instead of ablative. But the genitive did not serve as origin of the ablative (as Brugmann suggests), for *vācās* (cf. Lat. *vocis*) is genitive before it is ablative. We cannot explain *-tas* any more than we can explain *-as* in *mithās*, *sadyās*, etc. But the pronominal ablative must explain the whole ablative. Now the stem and ablative of the personal pronouns is one with the stem of the demonstrative as to its final *ā*: *tād*, *yād*, *kād* are adverbs as well as accusatives, that is, they are stems. From the pronoun *a* we thus have *ad* as stem, so-called accusative or adverb, meaning, as in Avestan, 'then' and 'thereby.' We have a number of such stems serving as adverbs or particles, some used like *-tas* to give an ending. Thus *id* from *i* (cf. *idām* as adverb) besides *itās* (first of place, then of time), used as an ending in *dakṣiṇīt* 'with the right,' as opposed to *savyéna* 'with the left' (5. 36. 4; cf. *pradakṣiṇīt*). Now uninflected forms can be used for full cases, as in *asmāka* and *unser* for genitive and *ásman* for locative, and such forms could in the same way do duty as adverbs serving as ablatives. The adverbs *smād* and *sumād* are merely stems and so *tād* is merely a stem used as an adverb. It is, for example, correlative to a *yātra* and to a *yātas*; it also means 'then' (4. 28. 1) and develops into 'therefore' (cf. *etād* 'this, thus, there' with *ātas*) and into an adverb of general relation, 'in regard to.' As correlative to *yād* 'since' it is 'therefore.' Just so *tātas* passes from 'then' to 'therefore,' and the full later ablative *tāsmād* becomes an adverb (first in AV.). The parallel *tyād* as neuter 'accusative' is constantly used as adverb, 'indeed.' The pronoun *a* remains only as a fragment, *áyā*, *asyā*; it is almost obsolete, probably owing to its being used in adverbial form, *ātas*, *āt*, but its stem as ablative, *ad*, is added to other stems, as pronouns are constantly compounded, to give the older ablative, e. g. *tād*, which in turn as adverb is added to adjectives to give an adverbial relation, *adharāttāt*, *uttarāttāt*, as if to strengthen the ablative (cf. *ārāttāt*). The form *tād* itself, the old 'ablative,' occurs in RV. only in the sense of an adverb, 'so,' correlative to the corresponding *yād* (6. 21. 6), which also has the meaning 'as long as.' When this *tād* is added to *adhas*, the meaning of *adhástāt* is not 'from below' but 'below-ward,' cf. *vrścém adhástād* . . . *rākṣas* 'smite the fiend down' (3. 30. 16; cf. *ava-vraśc*).

This explanation is in line with the constant tendency to express ablative relation by other means than the pure ablative. So in late Latin *alius ab* and *doctior ab*. The Vedic *ād* (*a-ad* 'then,' 1. 148. 4) contains its own ablative in addition to the stem-vowel, because *ad* (taken wholly into the adverb-prepositional class) no longer serves as a case. The form *tād* is *ta-ad* or possibly *ta-ād*; like *ād* it has no real ablative sense except by inference. But we have the same phenomenon in other languages. In English, for example, 'at that he rose' implies but does not express 'then.' So 'thereupon,' *darauf*, is local but implies a strong 'ablative' sense; 'thereupon he rode away' is an implication of a precedent action, and it is this implication that brings out the ablative relation. Thus an 'at this,' etc., easily passes into a 'then' and further into a 'hence'; for which reason *ād* stands as correlative to *yād* or *yādī*, 'if' so, 'then' so and so. The stem-ablative appears still in English 'so' from **suod*, Avestan *hvaṭ*, Greek *ὅτι*, cf. 'who so.' But it is important to observe that *tād* (the stem) itself is adverb, as is *yād*, etc., and it is the ending, not *ad* but *d*, which appears as stem and ablative in the personal pronouns *mād*,¹¹ *asmād*, etc. Thus the whole ablative reverts to a stem used indifferently as stem or as adverb and as stem used for the neuter singular, *kāt* (*kād*), etc., just as neuter nouns generally use the stem for the accusative, *mānas*, *mévos*, and then as nominative. A very good example of the growth of an ablative notion from one not in the least ablative is given by Sanskrit *sacā* 'together, with,' construed with instrumental and locative, as compared with its Avestan equivalent *haca*, which means 'with' with the genitive, but 'in consequence of' and 'from' with the ablative. The root (*sac*, 'sequor') means 'following' and so 'accompanying, with'; but 'following' also suggests 'from' and 'then' as well as 'than.' The relation of the personal pronoun to the demonstrative may be expressed by the formula *tvaḍ:ad:: tva:a*. The stem-form *ad* is extant in Avestan *aṭca*, Latin *atque*, possibly as preposition 'at,' 'to' in *ad* and (*a*)*tsar*, *ad-sar* (*ἀδσάρ*). There is no clear connection between *mithás*, *hṛttás*, and *hṛdás*, yet probably there was a genitive-ablative

¹¹ The form *māt* (*mād*) is occasionally without accent.

force felt in *-as*, whether appearing as adverbial or case-ending, and the very similarity of form made a connection felt between this *-as* and the ending *-tas*, perhaps *tátas* as *tát-as*; hence the accent of *ítás* serving as a case: *anyám kṛṇuṣvetáh pánthām* 'make thyself a path other than this' (10. 142. 7). But *tátas* also serves as a case (as in the example above, p. 52), and all that can be said positively is that the three endings appear to stand in some relation to each other. On the other hand, it is more than probable that *mád*, *asmád*, etc., are by analogy with *tád*, a stem used as adverb rather than an accusative so used, and that the ablative is a development from such a stem, just as *asmáka* is a stem used as a genitive. As the ablative forms of the personal pronouns are Avestan, the development was of course of remote antiquity.

I have united the explanation of the ablative with that of *-tas* as an adverb-ending also gliding from neutral to positive ablative-sense; but the latter rather illustrates the ablative than explains it historically. That is, the explanation of the ablative may be right and that of *-tas* wrong, though I think otherwise. Apart from theory, *níṣṭya . . . áraṇa* (above) may be added to Vedic adjectives followed by the ablative, and *asmád uktáh* (above, with parallels) to Avestan-Latin ablative of agent, not recognized by Delbrück and explained by the translators rather as 'on our part' than 'by,' perhaps rightly, but by implication clearly meant as agent.

THE BABYLONIAN SAGE UT-NAPIŠTİM RŪQU

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THE BABYLONIAN FLOOD-HERO possessed two alternative names, Atrahasis 'the very wise,' which he shared with other primeval sages, and Ut-napištim, the reading of which was a bone of contention among scholars for three decades. A decade after Meissner's discovery of the variant *Utanaištim* (MVAG 1902, p. 13, n. 1) had established the correct reading, Arno Poebel found its Sumerian prototype, *Zi-ud-BU-du*, which he pronounced *Ziugiddu*. Other scholars (Sayce, Zimmern, Langdon) suggested *Ziusuddu*, in the light of CT 18. 30. 9: *Zi-sud-da* = *Ut-na-pa(!)-aš(!)-te*. Zisúdu, (for Ziusúdu), furthermore, was identified with the Σκυθης of Lucian, Περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ, 12, which Buttmann had happily emended to Σισοθης (CICYΘHC. for CKYΘHC). A number of scholars, however, retain the erroneous reading *Ziugiddu*.

Ziusúdu is written with the character *sud* not only CT 18. 30. 9, but also in Nippur 4611 (Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, no. 4); moreover, the writing *BU* in the Poebel text is far from disproving this testimony. Both in form and in origin the characters *bu* and *sud* are closely related; *sud* is *bu-gunu* (Delitzsch, *Entstehung*, p. 67; cf. Barton, *BA* 9. 172), and they share the values *arāku* (*sir*), and *rūqu* (*sud*). Decisive evidence for the reading Ziusúdu is furnished by the Semitic translation *Ut-napištim rūqu* 'Ut-napištim the remote.' The Sumerian equivalent of *rūqu* is *sud*, not *gid*, which means 'long.' In the light of such names as *Uta-zi-mu* 'Uta is my life' (Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, p. 68), the Semites took *Ut-zi* to be the name and *sud-du* as a participial appellative, an epithet like (*Siduri*) *Sabitu*, (*Ur-šanabi*) *malahu*, (*Uruk*) *supûri*, etc., and gave it the usual value, *rūqu* 'distant.' This disposes of the over-ingenious suggestions made by some scholars; e. g., Langdon (*PSBA* 36. 190) regards Ut-napištim as an abbreviation for Ut-napištim-arik.

The original meaning of the name may have been 'The sub-merged light of life' (cf. the *mà sud-a* = *elippu* *tebitu* of

Tammuz), referring to his role as the Flood-hero.⁹ The mythical interpretation must be withheld until my monograph on the Babylonian Flood-story appears, as theories of the kind require a whole arsenal of evidence to win respect. Later, when the hero was translated to the end of the earth, at the *pî nârâti* (originally the *source* of the rivers, as I shall show in a special article; the idea first occurred to me two years ago, since when I have collected a mass of material in its support), *sud* was misunderstood, and regarded as meaning 'distant.' The Semitic name, explained at first, we may suppose, as 'the day of life' (cf. *En-ud-tila* 'Lord of the day of life,' *CT* 16. 13. 21), was, again, etymologized as 'He found life,' *Ūtâ-napištim*, alluding to his immortality; cf. the phrases in the Flood-tablet *balâta uttû* 'to find life,' *napsâti šê'u* = *balâta saḥâru* (Meissner fragment) 'to seek life.' There seems to have been a certain haziness even about the second element, variously written (besides *ZI-tim*) *na-iš-tim* (the mistake is perhaps due to the dictator's misreading *pi* as *ui*, its usual value), *na-pa-aš-te* (see above), and *na-pu-uš-[tim]* (Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, no. 27).

Various questions connected with the post-diluvian career of the Babylonian Noah will be discussed elsewhere; in this connection, however, I wish to consider the role he plays as sage and instructor of men. Among the Hebrews Noah must have served in some such capacity; in the Jewish pseudepigraphon whose remains are imbedded in the Book of Enoch, Noah is the seer and teacher. In the Gilgames-epic we find Ut-napištim exhorting Gilgames. The words put into his mouth remind us strongly of the address delivered to the hero by the nymph Siduri in the Meissner text. From a careful examination of the Assyrian recension, it appears certain that this address—in substance—has been transferred to Ut-napištim by the Assyrian editors. In the early recension we read the words of Siduri: *"G(ūlgames) êš¹ tadá'al ? balâta^m ša tasáḥuru lâ tuttâ. inûma*

⁹ A more orthodox explanation may be based upon such phrases as *aga zi-ud-sud-ûu-a*, 'a tiara of life for distant days (to come)'; cf. Langdon, *Sum. Liturgical Texts*, No. 14, rev., l. 10.

¹ The word *aiš* (cf. Poebel, *Hist. and Gram. Texts*, no. 152, col. 10. 3 — 11) = *ai* (𐎶) with the adverbial ending.

ilâni ibnû ayêlûta^m, mûta^m iškunû ana ayêlûti^m, balâta^m ina qâtîšunu iġabtû = 'Gilgames, whither dost thou wander? The life which thou seekest thou wilt not find. When the gods created mankind, death they appointed for mankind; life they kept in their own hand.' Ut-napišti^m asks the same question, and finally (*GE* 10. 6. 36 ff.) says: "*Anunnaki ilâni rabûti pa[hrû]*, "*Mammîtu^m bânât šîmti ittîšunu šîmâta^m iši[ma]*. *ištâknû mûta u balâta, ša mûti ul uddû ûmêšu* = 'The Anunnaki, the great gods, being assembled, Mammîtu, the creatress of fate, with them fixed destinies; they appointed death and life—the days of death are not made known.' The sharp distinction between gods and men in the older recension is softened and made less inhuman by the subordination of both to the eternal Fate, Mammîtu.

However, the Deluge-hero was regarded as a sage long before the Assyrian edition of *GE* appeared, tho it is quite possible, as will be seen, that his reputation in this field tended to increase. In an important fragment (Nippur 4611) published by Langdon (*Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, p. 90, plate IV A), Ziusûdu appears in the role of sage. Following Langdon's transcription we read, obv. l. 2): *Zi-ud-sud-du enim-bi [in-na-ab-dug-dug(?)]* = 'Ziusûdu addressed to him his discourse.' From his own copy, Langdon's reading (on the basis of the Poebel text, col. 4. 4-5, a very weak parallel) *Zi-ud-sud-du enim ga[ra-ab-dug-dug]* = 'O Zi-udsuddu, a command [I will speak to thee]' is erroneous. Accordingly, there is no evidence that the precepts given on the reverse were addressed to Ziusûdu by a god, or the goddess Nin-tud as Langdon believes. On the contrary, Ziusûdu is speaking himself, addressing his son (cf. rev. 6, 11, *dumu-mu* 'my son').² Conclusive evidence for this view is furnished by the fragment in Ebeling's publication already alluded to, where we read (rev. 2-4): *Ut-nap[ušti^m . . .] mârišu[. . .] Ut-napus[tî^m ana šâšu iz(z)âkara ana mâri-šu(?)]*. Here follows the discourse, consisting of precepts and moral injunctions. The obverse also contains moral injunctions. The best-preserved lines read as follows:—

² The familiar Hebrew form of gnomic discourse thus is already characteristic of Sumerian.

OBSERVE

- 1 *ki-ma ri-b[-a-a-ti]*
- 2 *ri-i-b[-tu]*
- 3 *a-ḫi-e la³ tu-uš [⁴.]*
- 4 *ma-ar-ti a-me[-li la] . . .*
- 5 *bêl e-mu-qi la [.]*
- 6 *iḏ-la la tu-uš [.]*
- 7 *a-kil qar(!)-q[⁵]*
- 8 *i-na pa-ni la ta [.]*
- 9 *ki-ma sa-ar-ri [.]*
- 10 *XII-ma sir-ri i[.]*
- 11 *[. .] qar-ra-di [.]*
- 12 *[e-li] iṣa-maš i[-ṭa-ab.]*
- 13 *[. . qar]-ra-di [.]*
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17

REVERSE

- mUt-na-p[u-uš-tim]*
- ma-ri-šu [.]*
- mUt-na-pu-uš [-tim]*
- a-šar ti [.]*
- a-ma-at [.]*
- mu-u-ra na [.]*
- šip-ri³ ša i-na ḫi [.]*
- e-qi-el-ka [a-na]*
- i-na šip-ri ši-ka [.]*
- bit-ka a-na ri [.]*
- elâti la te-p[u-uš]*
- u at-ta qa-t[-a]*
- a-na a-mi-li mu [.]*
- a-šar ça-al[-tim]*
- [a]-ḫu-tu a-na [.]*
- [a-ḫu]-tu a[-na]*

In spite of the mutilated condition of the text, enough is left to enable a comparison with the wisdom-text last edited by Langdon, *PSBA* 1916. 105-116, 131-137. The resemblance is closest in § E, H, M, and P, especially in E, where l. 28-30 correspond to Ebeling, rev., l. 13-15: *u atta—u atta; ana lâ dînika—ana amêli muṣ[i . . .]*; *ašar ṣal[ti^m]*—*ina pân ṣaltî-ma*. For rev. 12, *elâti lâ tep(p)uš*, cf. § H, l. 9, *šaltîš elîšunu ê tuktanniš* 'thou shalt not act overbearingly toward them,' and § P, l. 7, *šaplâti ê tâtâmî* 'base words thou shalt not utter.' *Rîb[âti]* in obv. 1 and *riḫ[tu]* in obv. 2 remind one strongly of *riḫâti* 'recompense, vengeance' in § M, l. 30. At all events, whether we have to do with different recensions of the same work or not, it is clear that the Sumerian text above-

³ Here we have the prohibitive (*lâ* with the present), whereas in the tablet of proverbs the precative (*i* with the preterite) is used.

⁴ In the tablet of proverbs several words which might be supplied here occur, as *tušamraç*, *tušâmî*, *tušamaṭṭi*, *tušānaḫ*.

⁵ *Ākil qarçê* 'slanderer' is a familiar expression in the Assyrian gnomic literature.

⁶ The word *šipru* 'matter, business' occurs several times in the tablet of wisdom. Langdon's 'work' is an inexact rendering. Semantically the word is an exact parallel to Coptic ⲉⲩⲱⲃ 'thing, matter, business,' from *h3 b* 'send.' The expression *lâ bâbil šipri* (B 16) means 'worthless,' like Coptic ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲱⲃ, (for **iwti-iri-h3 b*).

mentioned, containing exhortations to altruism, and the Ebeling fragment are parts of an extensive wisdom literature, circulating under the name and authority of the wise Flood-hero, who is thus in some respects the prototype of the Hebrew Solomon. Just as Solomon is decked with the robes of *Hokhma*, so Ut-napišti takes the place of Siduri in the Gilgames-epic. In another place I hope to show that Siduri, the goddess of wisdom (*Ištar ša nîmêqi*), is to a certain extent the prototype of the Aramaic חכמתא (in the *Aḥiqar*-romance), the Hebrew חכמה, and the Mandaean *Mandâ d'ḥaijê*.

Langdon (*op. cit.* p. 107 f.) has begun to study the relation of the Babylonian wisdom literature to the Aramaic of the *Aḥiqar*-recensions, all of which probably go back to Assyrian sources, tho the latter were doubtless greatly modified in transmission. I will add a few parallels which I have noted. The Syriac *Aḥiqar* (Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 771, chap. 8. 17) has: 'My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.' The comparison cannot be called very felicitous, nor is the situation quite clear. In a letter of Esarhaddon to the Babylonians, the king applies a similar proverb to the latter (Harper, *Letters*, no. 403, l. 5-7; cf. Johnston, *AJSL* 22. 244): *kalbu ša amēlpaḥari ina libbi utūni kī ērubu, ana libbi amēlpaḥaru unampah* = 'when the potter's dog entered into the oven, the potter lit the fire,' i. e., those who put themselves into bad situations will pay dearly for the consequences. The Assyrian proverb is obviously original; in being adapted to the purpose of the didact and employed to illustrate ingratitude it has lost its trenchancy and has become ridiculous. These satiric thrusts in chap. 8 at Nadan's ingratitude and unreliability, which so affect him that he finally swells up and bursts, in true folkloristic style, are in tone very much like Gilgames's comparisons directed at Ištar's faithlessness in the sixth tablet of the Nimrod-epic. In *Aḥiqar*, chap. 8. 6, we read: 'My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.' The simile is decidedly far-fetched, since *Aḥiqar*, of course, was in prosperous and comfortable circumstances until betrayed by his nephew. The Assyrian, however, most aptly likens Ištar to a skin-bottle which drenches its bearer

(GE 6. 38). Ahîqar was Nadan's support, so this comparison would be particularly effective. Perhaps the original Aramaic editor had more literary skill than his successors.

In closing, an interesting parallel between the Aramaic and the Syriac *Ahîqar* may be noted. *Pap. El.*, no. 53, l. 14 has, תרתין מלן שפירה וזי תלתה רחמה לשמש שתה חמרא ויניקנה' etc. The first thing mentioned as *ṭābu elî šamaš* is 'the one who drinks wine and offers a libation.'⁷ Similarly in the Greek symposia a libation was first poured out to Dionysos. Syriac A (cf. Nöldeke, *Zum Achîqar*, p. 36, v. 10) gives the following piece of advice: 'Giess deinen Wein auf die Gräber der Gerechten und trink ihn nicht mit den Frevlern.' The injunction to pour the wine out on the graves of the righteous is not at all natural in this connection. Apparently the Christian editor, being displeased with the heathen practise of pouring out libations to Dionysos, changed it to an exhortation to abstain from convivial gatherings, and, if a libation must be made, to make it in honor of the righteous dead. Of course, this practise is fundamentally quite as objectionable as the other, but such casuistic distinctions are not at all uncommon.

⁷ נִיק 'to libate' is a new word, to which Dr. Seidel first called my attention. The word is, of course, connected with *naqû* 'libate,' and even more closely with *nâqu* (*JAOS* 36. 231, where my combination with *nâqu*, 'lament,' is erroneous; this *nâqu* is originally onomatopoeic, belonging with נֶהֱק, נֶהֱק, etc.).

BRIEF NOTES

Sumerian ġul-gik, 'obstinate refusal'

In my paper on the fifth Sumerian family law (ZA 30, 93)¹ I have shown that Assyr. *zâru, izîr* in that text does not mean 'to hate,' but 'to be recalcitrant,' especially 'to refuse to admit to sexual intercourse.' The rendering 'to get a distaste' (JAOS 36. 5) is inaccurate. The Sumerian equivalent *ġul-gik*, which SGI 217 explains as 'hatred,' denotes 'malicious resistance, obstinate refusal with wilful disregard to duty, spiteful obstinacy in non-compliance,' just as our legal term for desertion of a spouse without justification or excuse is 'malicious abandonment.' In the Prussian *Landrecht* of 1794 obstinate refusal of the rights of marriage was one of the causes for which divorce was allowed. In the French laws of 1886 and 1907 habitual and groundless refusal of matrimonial rights is one of the *injures graves* entitling the injured party to divorce (EB¹¹ 8. 342^b, 343^b).

The Sumerian phrase *ġul-ban-da-gigâ-ni* 'in her obstinate refusal' may be compared to the Ethiopic gerund (Dillman², p. 237): it means literally 'obstinately refusing she' (Ethiopic. *manninâ*; cf. also SG § 45). It might be followed by the postpositions -*šu* (SG § 77, g) or -*š* (SG § 79) or -*de* (SG § 118, d; § 120, b). According to SG § 219, b we might also explain it as a participle, but some supersyntactician would perhaps brand this as one of the 'German philological phantasies which may be compendiously described as a passion for discovering participles where none exist' (PSBA 38. 142). The infinitive may be used instead of the participle in certain Arabic connections (WdG 1. 133, A).

Gik in the Sumerian term *ġul-gik* is not the equivalent of Assyr. *marġu* 'ill, diseased,' but corresponds to the Assyr. *parâku* 'to bar' (cf. German *sich sperren*). This is, as a rule, expressed by the sign GIL (which we find, e. g., in Assyr. *ušadġil*). This character (which is a doubling of *gi* = Assyr. *tûru* 'to turn back, to repulse'; cf. SG §§ 5, 115, 122, b, 144, b)

¹ For the abbreviations see vol. 37, p. 321, n. 1.

is also read *gīl* in Sumerian (*SGL* 213). *Gīl* and *gīl* are ultimately identical (cf. *SG* § 21, a) just as *gīl* 'evil' (which according to *SGL* 216 refers originally to the evil eye; cf. *BA* 9. 2, p. 214) is connected with *gul* 'to destroy' (cf. *ZDMG* 64. 709, l. 17) and Sumer. *gīl* = Assy. *parāku* is merely a byform of *gin*, the original form of *gi* = Assy. *tūru* (*SGL* 99). The primary connotation of *gi* = *gin* 'cane,' which has passed into Assyrian (*ZDMG* 64. 709, l. 2) as *qanū*, is 'returning' to the form from which it is bent, i. e., 'elastic.' We use 'elastic' also in the sense of 'recovering' from depression and exhaustion. The Sumerian phrase for 'to recover' is 'to return to one's place' (Sum. *kibi-šu gigi*, Assy. *ana ašrišu tāru*; cf. *SG* § 119, b). For *gīl* = *gin* see *SG* § 22; *ZAT* 34. 230, ad 210.

The root *gik* 'to resist, to refuse, to be unapproachable' (which is merely an incomplete reduplication of *gi*; cf. *SG* § 106, l. 8) is found in the term for 'prostitute.' Sumer. *nu-gik*, i. e., 'not unapproachable, not inaccessible.' On the tablet containing the Sumerian family laws we find (v *R.* 25. 7^c): *Egir-bi-ta-am nu-gig-am silā-ta ban-da ıla, ša-ki-agāni-ta nam-nugigāni in-nen-tuktuk* 'Thereupon he took a harlot from the street and married her in his love despite her harlotry,' Assy. *Arkānu qadištum ina sūqim ittāši ina rāmišu qadildūssu êrussu*; cf. *HW* 581^b; *SG* § 210. Sayce translated this passage in *RP* 3. 23 (1874): 'For the future (the Judge may) cause a sanctuary to be erected in a private demesne. (A man) has full possession of his sanctuary in his own high place.'

The two Sumerian words *gik* = *marācu* and *gik* = *parāku* are identical (cf. *JSOR* 1. 9, 90). We use 'ill' not only for 'evil, deleterious, miserable, unfriendly, rude,' but also for 'diseased.' The noun 'ill' denotes 'wickedness, adversity, pain,' and 'disease.' Assy. *xītu* 'sin, wickedness' signifies also 'rebellion' (*AJSL* 19. 140, n. 33). The synonym of *xītu* 'sin, wickedness,' *annu* means originally 'resistance'; the noun *anantu* is commonly used for 'resistance, fight' (*HW* 103). It corresponds to Arab. *ahānna* = *xāṭa'a*, not to 'inān or mu'ānnah 'resistance' (*ZB* 13). Another synonym of *xītu* is *arnu* which corresponds to Arab. *hirān* 'recalcitrance, viciousness' (of a horse, &c.). Similarly Heb. *sarār* (cf. Assy. *sarru* 'rebellious') is used of a recalcitrant heifer and also of Israel's backsliding (e. g., *Is.* 65. 2; *Jer.* 5. 23). The heathen are regarded

as rebels (Ps. 66. 7). In Hos. 4. 16 (cf. *JBL* 36. 91) we must read:

Kě-fârâ sôrerâ Isrâ'él, kě-kăbš môrê bam-mir'ê,
 Like an obstinate heifer is Israel,
 like a stubborn young tup in the pasture.

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The helmet of Eannatum

On the Stele of Vultures Eannatum is depicted on the march at the head of his soldiers. Of interest is the club-like thing at the back of his helmet. The only explanation which I have seen is that of H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 180: 'Eannatum wears the same helmet, behind which his long hair is bound up in a club'. Eannatum and his soldiers indeed show their hair (i. e. the wig) beneath the helmets, yet in the case of Eannatum the hair is depicted as falling in loose waves below the neck. It would be depreciating the work of the artist to suppose that he was unable to design the hair better, if that 'club' really should represent the tied-up hair. The picture certainly does not favor this explanation. One would rather think that this club-like representation was merely attached as a weight to the helmet to keep it from easily falling off. But even this explanation is insufficient, as the helmet already possesses a stormband, which sufficiently protects it from falling.

I think I am not wrong in seeing in this device the first instance of a pictorial representation of a visor. It was fastened to the stormband and made either of leather or of metal. When the warrior was not engaged in battle this visor had its position where we see it on the Stele of Vultures. In battle, however, the visor was clapped over the top of the helmet, and brought into such a position that it covered the lower half of the king's face. The stormband held it firmly in position. If this explanation is correct, then we have here the oldest helmet (German *Visier* or *Sturzhelm*, French *armet*). It should further be noted, that the helmet with the visor reaches generally not further back than the second half of the XV. century, and remained in use through the middle of the XVII. century. Our case therefore stands very isolated, as we never again meet on the monuments the helmet plus the visor.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

at the meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1918

The second annual meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at the Hebrew Union College on Washington's Birthday, 1918.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Breasted	Fullerton	Linfield	Waterman
Buttenwieser	Kaplan	Lybyer	Wishart
Byrne	Kelly	Meek	Wolfenson
Deutsch	Kohler	Morgenstern	
Du Bose	Lauterbach	Olmstead	
Freehof	Levy	Philipson	[Total 21]

The society convened at 10.00 A. M. In the absence of the President, who was detained by a wreck, the Secretary called the meeting to order. On motion of Professor Morgenstern, seconded by Professor Buttenwieser, Professor Lybyer was elected chairman. President Kohler of Hebrew Union College welcomed the members, pointing out how appropriate it was that in these war times we should meet on the day celebrating the birth of our nation's first president and bidding us not forget, when it seemed as if light must now come from the west, that the Hebrew prophets were the first to preach true democracy. Professor Lybyer replied, in the name of the branch, expressing our pleasure in seeing the great Hebrew institution of which we had so often heard.

In the absence of Professor H. C. Tolman, the secretary read his paper 'A possible restoration from a Middle Persian Source of the answer to Pilate's inquiry "What is Truth?"' (This paper will appear in the JOURNAL.)

Professor C. Everett Conant was unable to read his paper on 'Some changes of original *t* and *s* in Austronesian and elsewhere', an abstract of which is herewith appended:

The three linguistic groups comprised under the general name Austronesian are the Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian. Of these three groups, the Indonesian has suffered the least change in original sounds, both vowels and consonants, while the Melanesian has suffered a marked abrasion of all accentless vowels, and the Polynesian is characterized by the loss of consonants, especially in final position, where no consonant remains. In most Indonesian languages, *t* and *s* have remained unchanged, but in a number of languages within this territory, one or both of these sounds have undergone modifications of varying character and extent. Greater changes are presented by the Melanesian, and still greater by the Polynesian. The entire Austronesian territory presents a remarkable variety of sound evolved from both *t* and *s*, including all the changes to be observed in Indo-European. In general, both sounds are least affected in initial position, but in many languages they are, one or both, changed in all positions.

Professor Theophile J. Meek: 'A votive inscription of Ashurbanipal'. Remarks by Messrs. Kohler, Olmstead, Waterman, Neumann. (This paper will appear in the JOURNAL.)

A telegram from the Vice President, Dr. Laufer, expressing regrets and greetings, was then read.

Dr. E. H. Byrne: 'Easterners in Genoa'. Remarks by Messrs. Lybyer, Kaplan, Olmstead, Kohler, Fullerton, Bittenwieser, Philipson. On invitation of President Kohler, Professor Deutsch made certain supplementary remarks on the Jewish history. (This paper will appear in the JOURNAL.)

President Kohler took the chair.

Professor A. H. Lybyer: 'The influence of the Crusades upon the Great Discoveries'. Remarks by Messrs. Waterman, Byrne, Deutsch, Philipson, Kohler, Kaplan.

The genesis and influence of the great discoveries has been looked at too narrowly. The religious motive of mediaeval Christian action, in its first phase of the conversion of the heathen, whether by persuasion or by force, and its second phase of the long rivalry with Islam, culminating in the Crusades, really took the lead over science, commerce, and conquest in producing the expeditions of the fifteenth century. Henry the Navigator was born in Portugal, whose existence had been one long crusade. He was head of the order of Christ, which in 1319 had taken over the property and the crusading purpose of the Knights Templar in that country. His purposes, as stated by Azurara in an order evidently climacteric, were:

scientific knowledge, trade, information about the Moslem enemy, alliances for crusade against him, and missionary work to save souls. He sought a way across or around Africa in order to unite his forces with those of Prester John, king of Abyssinia. Vasco da Gama was sent 'in search of Christians and of spices' and King Emmanuel in his letters to the sovereign of Spain, in which he announced the discoveries, rejoiced because he hoped to 'destroy the Moors of those parts', to profit by the trade they had enjoyed, and to use the revenues gained thereby in 'war upon the Moors in these parts'. When the first Portuguese embassy visited Abyssinia about 1525, King David wrote to King John that "both of us together, we will destroy the Moorish State." Christopher Columbus lit his torch from the fire burning in Portugal. The objects of his voyage had in them a strong missionary element as is shown in the preamble to the journal of his first voyage. He hoped that all the profits of his voyage would be devoted to the recovery of Jerusalem and strove to make provision for this in his will. When the English, successors of the Portuguese in the rivalry with Islam, took Egypt and then Jerusalem, they carried out after four centuries the underlying purposes of the great discoverers and of their royal patrons.

Professor Lybyer again took the chair and a short business session was held. The Secretary-Treasurer read the following report:

During the year, the routine work of the office has been carried on. A somewhat broad campaign for members was undertaken after the Chicago meeting, but the outbreak of the war made it inexpedient to continue. At present, the branch has 62 members, with six more names to be presented to the parent society for confirmation. Of the 37 names sent in last year, eleven have not completed their membership by paying their dues. Two have left our territory, three are abroad in the service of their country, and it is probable that war conditions are responsible for the loss of the remainder. Under the conditions, the best propaganda is personal and it cannot be too strongly urged that members work for additions to our branch. The new names proposed for confirmation are:

Solomon B. Freehof, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Jacob H. Kaplan, 780 E. Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Lindsay B. Longacre, Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.
 Emanuel Sternheim, Sioux City, Ia.
 Tseh Ling Tsu, 1201 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill.

The finances of the Chicago meeting were attended to by the national treasurer in person. The report for the branch is as follows:

Expenditures for postage, stationery, printing, \$32.40; received from the Treasurer of the Society \$20.00; leaving a balance due the local account of \$12.40.

On motion from the floor, the following were elected members of the nominating committee: Messrs. Byrne, Levy, Waterman. The meeting adjourned at 1.00 P. M., and the members were entertained by the Hebrew Union College at a most delightful luncheon.

After inspection of the treasures of the College Library, the Branch convened at 2.45 P. M., President Breasted in the chair. Mr. Levy reported for the nominating committee the following officers for the year:

President: Professor Julian Morgenstern of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Vice President: Professor A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer: Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Executive Committee: Professor J. H. Breasted of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (ex-officio as retiring President); Professor Kemper Fullerton of the Oberlin School of Theology, Oberlin, O.

The reading of papers was then continued:

H. Linfield: 'Assyriology and the Study of the Talmud'. Remarks by Messrs. Neumann, Morgenstern, Kohler, Lauterbach.

The Talmud, at least the legal portions of it, should be studied from the point of view of the laws and of the business customs current in ancient Babylonia. For example, the Jewish law according to which two borrowers are held jointly responsible is based on a Babylonian business custom that had acquired the authority of common law. Similar is the case of the Talmudic statement *Sephinta agra upagra*, BM 69b. The Jewish law in the case of the sale of an intangible object is an instance of insistence that the bill of sale be made out according to Babylonian custom. The same is also true of an assignment of debt, *Kethub*. 85a. These illustrations, taken at random, show that the Talmud, and especially the Babylonian Talmud, should be studied from the point of view of Babylonian laws and customs.

The President then announced that, owing to the lateness of the hour and the number of papers on the program, no more discussion of papers would be possible.

Professor L. B. Wolfenson: 'Transposition of \aleph before sibilants in the Semitic Languages'.

In forms of the type of *השתמש* in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, the *ת* after the *ה* of the prefix is said to be placed after the first radical of the root because of the kakophony, by metathesis. Where, however, we find in the other Semitic languages the phonetic sequence dental-sibilant, as is supposed to be the case originally in *השתמש* for * *התשמש* e. g., in Arabic forms V and VI (cf. Wright-de Goeje, *Arabic Grammar*,^s § 111, pp. 64, below, 65), Ethiopic, Assyrian, etc., we find an assimilation to the sibilant. Hence the explanation is offered that we have a survival of that series of reflexive conjugations with *t* infix, seen in the Arabic VIII form and the Assyrian 2-forms (*iktašad*, etc.), which survived in this case because of the kakophony which would obtain from the prefixing of the *ת* before the initial sibilant of the root when this became the predominant method of formation.

President K. Kohler: 'The Tetragrammaton and its Uses'.

Professor Kemper Fullerton: 'Isaiah 7. 14'.

Professor Leroy Waterman: 'רור in the Song of Songs'.

It is the purpose of this paper to show, first, that the prime cause of the most serious uncertainty in the poem is to be found in the form 'רור', second, that this form in the poem cannot be properly rendered 'my beloved', but can be a perfectly good proper name; and when that rendering is given, the poem becomes a necessary unity without the necessary alteration of a single letter of the original, and only one interpretation remains possible, namely, that the piece is a definite satire on the age and ideals of Solomon and a glorification of the northern schism in Israel.

Professor Moses Bittenwieser: 'The Importance of the Tenses for the Interpretation of the Psalms'.

Professor A. T. Olmstead: 'The Last Eighth of Jeremiah'.

Preceding studies, showing the new light cast on the problem of the evolution of Kings by the remarkable variants of the Greek translations, have remained unconsidered by Biblical scholars. Professor Barton has declared the results faulty, radical, unfounded, unfortunate, incompetent. The best reply is consideration of the book where the most radical results are obtained from use of the Greek. One eighth of the book of Jeremiah is missing in the two Greek translations which make up the so-called 'Septuagint' of the book. As the second translator also made a version of Daniel, he must be later than the date of that book. Material not found in his original must be still later. It is generally acknowledged by scholars that passages not in the Greek are not part of the original text but no attempt has been made to study these excised passages as a separate group, yet in the ascriptions to the later translators found in the margin of Codex Q, we have the basis for such study. Few are found in Symmachus who has the shortest text and nothing but scribal additions are proved for the ancestor of the text used by the Three. Only Aquila and, in still greater degree, Theodotion testify to the long extracts which show

deliberate editing at a date later than is commonly assumed. Groups with different translators as witnesses have definite unity in language and thought, and some may have historical allusions. Whatever date may be assigned to these editorial additions, they are undoubtedly the latest parts of Jeremiah and should be used as a touchstone for the results of Biblical criticism. In general, they confirm earlier results, but with a tendency to still further lower dates of documents.

On motion of Professor DuBose, seconded by Professor Lybyer, a vote of thanks to the Hebrew Union College and to the local committee of arrangements, Messrs. Morgenstern, Kohler, Grossman, and Philipson, for their whole-hearted entertainment, was unanimously passed.

The society then adjourned at 6.00 P. M. and were again most delightfully entertained by the Hebrew Union College at dinner.

The society reconvened at 8.15 P. M., President Breasted presiding. The first paper was the Presidential Address: 'The Place of the Near East in the History of Civilization'.

The new president, Professor Morgenstern, presented in brief review his paper on the 'Tent of the Meeting'. (This paper will appear in the JOURNAL.)

The last number of the evening was an illustrated lecture by Professor Fullerton, in which he showed village scenes in the Lebanon and about Jerusalem, the results of the recent excavations in the early Jebusite city, and the coming of the sacred flag at the declaration of the war against the infidel. The meeting adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

Much concern had been previously expressed as to the possibility of failure at this meeting. The disturbance caused by the war and the congestion of the railways undoubtedly prevented some from attending. In spite of these difficulties, added to the natural slacking down of an organization at its second meeting, there were actually more from out of town than on the previous occasion. The attendance increased from twenty-five in the morning to almost double that in the afternoon and the evening session was attended by about one hundred and fifty. The report should not close without full recognition of the very warm hospitality offered by the Hebrew Union College.

A. T. OLMSTEAD,

Secretary-Treasurer.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The bill presented to the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, amending the Charter of this Society so that its meetings may be held anywhere in the United States without limitation, was approved and became law March 7. The cause was sponsored by Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Charles Dana Burrage, Esq., and Eben Thompson, Esq.

A CASSITE LIVER-OMEN TEXT

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THE TABLET here published (University of Penn. Mus. No. 13517), dated in the twenty-first year of Burnaburiash II, the Cassite contemporary of Akhenaten and Smenkhkara, is both interesting and important, as its contents offer additional material for the subject of Babylonian hepatoscopy. Of published material of this class of texts it is preceded by three earlier texts, two of which belong to the First Dynasty, the third being dated in the eleventh year of the same king Burnaburiash¹. These four early liver inspection texts are alike in style and exhibit at the end of each division the number of *tîrânu*, a point in which they differ completely from all the Assyrian liver texts of the Ashurbanapal library. This word has been generally understood to imply the sum-total of the marks or signs observed, and therefore was translated simpliciter by 'mark' or 'sign', although only in one case, i. e. in Clay, *BE* 14. 4: 10 does the number of observations agree with the *tîrânu* mentioned (12 observ.—12 *tîrânu*). In the present tablet the number of the *tîrânu* nowhere corresponds to the numbers in the report. In six cases the number of the *tîrânu* falls below the number of the observations (i. e., § 2: 12 t—16 o; § 3: 12 t—16 o; § 5: 12 t—16 o; § 6: 10 t—14 o; § 7: 12 t—19 o; § 8: 12 t—14 o). In Division 4 the number of *tîrânu* is omitted, while the report gives 16 observations. Divisions 9 and 10 have a larger number of *tîrânu* than the report contains (i. e., § 9: 14 t—12 o; § 10: 12 t—11 o). As in most cases the number of the observation in the report exceeds the number of *tîrânu*², we may not suppose that the *barû*-priest gave only a synopsis of the actual observations

¹ Cf. *CT* 4. 34b, undated, but for paleographic reasons to be assigned to the Hammurabi period. Published by Boissier and Jastrow; see Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, 2. 274-277. The second text is published by Ungnad in *Babyloniaca*, 2. 257-274. For the Cassite text see Clay, *BE* 14, No. 4; see also, Jastrow, *op. cit.* 278-282.

² *CT* 4. 34b: 12 t—7 o; *Babyl.* 2. 257: § 1: 14 t—11 o; § 2: 14 t—18 o.

but stated the actual number of observations under: \times *tirânu*. This we could hardly believe, even though the number of the observations was smaller than the number of the *tirânu*, as not the number but the actual observation and their careful record were of importance. It should also be noted that Division 1 speaks of twenty *tirânu* without a preceding report of the observations (of a liver in the *barû*'s dream?) but is followed by two marks of the liver: 'two gates of the palace' and 'a swelling':

These facts raise the suspicion that by *tirânu* there is not to be understood the sum-total of the signs or marks observed on the liver, but that *tirânu* signifies a special mark itself. The two facts taken together make it altogether clear that such is the case. The question then to be considered is, what kind of a mark must the *tirânu* have been? An examination of the liver inspection texts will partially answer that question. Before discussing them, however, I would draw attention to a medical text³ that will be of help in determining the meaning of the word. We read (line 16): [*šamni ana qaqqadi-šu tašapak ina bîti ša*] *ta-ra-nam ibašû tušēšib-šu*, i. e., 'pour oil on his head, in a house that is covered place him', according to Prof. Jastrow's translation. In note 3 (p. 379) he states: 'I take our word (i. e., *tarânu*) as a variant form of *tirânu*, which signifies 'protection' (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 1190)'. I think that Prof. Jastrow is correct in taking *tarânu* as a variant of *tirânu*. *Ina bîti ša ta-ra-nam ibašû* could well be translated by: 'In a house that is a protection'. But I differ with Jastrow's explanation of a *tarânu*-house, as being 'one with a roof and with doors and windows tightly closed so as to exclude the demons'. The demon is already in possession of the man, because he is actually sick. As Jastrow himself states a few lines later that 'in primitive medicine the protection against demons occupies the first place and the hygienic or therapeutic idea is secondary', so I think that by *bîtu ša tarânam ibašû* is meant something quite different from a house which is covered. I see here a distinct reference to a custom used by the exorciser, the *ašipu*. In incantation-texts

³ Jastrow, 'An Assyrian Medical Tablet in the Possession of the College of Physicians,' Reprint from the *Transactions* of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1913.

we read passages like: *zid-šur-ra en-nu-un kalag-ga ú-me-ni-šur kán-na-ne-ne-a zid šur-ra ú-me-ni-šur*, i. e. 'meal-water smear around as a powerful protection, at the doors smear around meal-water'⁴. And it seems that such is the medical advice contained in the tablet, for, as we shall see, *tîrânu* must have some such meaning as circle, zone, enclosure. Hence here it probably means: place the patient into a house which has received the magic rite of encircling it with mealwater (or pure water of Eridu) as a *protection* against the demons. *Ina bîti ša ta-ra-nam ibašû* should therefore be translated: 'In a [house which is] a zone', *scil.* 'of protection'.

In returning to my text, attention should be drawn to Division 4, which reads in line 7 *ti-ra-nu imni cpšu(?) šumêli târu ir-ra*⁵ *la la-mu-ú*, i. e., 'the *tîrânu* at the right are well made(?), on the left they turn(?)'. The (zone) lines do not encircle'. So much can be gathered from this passage, that the *tîrânu* has *irra*, lines, which in this case do not make the circle. In Division 6 the *tîrânu* are said to be *šalhu*, 'stretched out, branched out'. Furthermore, the *tîrânu* are said to be clearly traced⁶, uncertain⁷. When on the other hand we read of the *irru sahirûti*: *šumma irru sahirûti 16 šumêla itbû*[ZIMES] *u târu* [GUR.MEŠ]⁸, 'if the encircling lines are sixteen and at the left rise and turn(?)', or: 'if the zone lines turn and ten are their number'⁹, we find that what is expressed of the *tîrânu* is also said of the *irru sahirûti*. Moreover, in a Neo-Babylonian liver inspection text¹⁰, which the *barû* reported to king Nabonidus, there is actually found *irru sahirûti* at the end of the report, and taking the place of the word *tîrânu*. *Tîrânu* and *sahirûti* are therefore coextensive terms. The latter text is also in so far important as it expressly shows that the number of

⁴ Tablet No. 591, column 5, lines 4-7. This tablet together with other incantation texts will be published later by the present writer.

⁵ On *irru*, 'zone line,' see *VAB* 4. 266: 18; see also Knudtson, p. 51.

⁶ *zakru*, *Babyloniaca* 2. 257 ff, text Obv. 10.

⁷ *naḥsu*, *ibid.* Rev. 25 (*naḥzu*), and note *kunukku naḥsu*, the impressions are unsteady, i. e. they tend to move from their places, in the text here published, § 2. 4; § 3. 5; § 5. 7.

⁸ Klauber, *PRT* 118. 9.

⁹ Boissier, *Choir*, 88, K. 3832.

¹⁰ *VAB* 4. 266: 18.

tirānu is itself a sign of the liver like the rest¹¹. From all that has been said it becomes clear, that Boissier's conjecture¹² is correct and that *tirānu* indicates the zones into which the liver was divided. The erroneous idea in taking the numbers of *tirānu* as the sum-total was simply caused through the fact that it stood as the last enumerated mark in the liver reports. But it seems that the *barû* always proceeded with a certain scheme in making out his report, for we also notice that, as he ends with *tirānu*, he commences with the *manzazu*.

A comparison of the three earlier texts on the one hand and of the Assyrian texts on the other is interesting. We notice that our Cassite text represents a stage of transition. While the older texts simply state the observations, but leave us in the dark as to the results of the inspection, and while, again, the Assyrian texts record the results as carefully as the observations themselves, our text at least gives some information which was desired through the liver omen. Beginning with Division 3, each division is headed by a short sentence, announcing the interpretation of the report. All these earlier texts, the Assyrian texts included, differ again from the liver inspection reports made to Nabonidus, in the Neo-Babylonian period, in that the latter resemble more closely in style and form the authoritative books on liver divination themselves. Here the report is not separated from the interpretation, but the interpretation follows each omen. A report of eleven signs contains one evil omen and the whole is adjudged favorable, but the king orders a second liver inspection when he obtains nine signs all good¹³.

Div. 3 of the present text is introduced by the *ša-gur*, i. e., 'turning of the heart', which probably means that Ishtar will have mercy. Div. 4 is adjudged favorable, the king (Enlil or Marduk) has commanded that the undertaking be executed. Div. 5 repeats the interpretation of the preceding division, but

¹¹ *VAB* 4. 266: 18: 'If there are fourteen encircling zone lines (i. e. zones) under good auspices (for the meaning of *ina šalimti*, *ina la šalimti*, see Klauber, *PRT* p. xxxiv), it means calamity; my hand will attain the desire of my army; the army will go upon an expedition and consume booty'.

¹² See *VAB* 4. 266: 18 and 128: 6, where *tirānu* is derived from *tāru*, 'to turn, encircle'.

¹³ *VAB* 4. 266-271.

adds: *ša-gur*, 'turning of the heart'. In Div. 6 the *barû*-priest sees fifteen signs on the liver, which indicate a calamity sent by god and goddess. The inspections seen in the following three divisions are of evil portent. The land will be invaded and the gods transported. The report in Div. 10 is apparently the answer to an inquiry of the king Burnaburiash as to whether he should undertake a journey. The answer is favorable.

As eight different livers (Div. 2 belongs probably to the dream omen recorded in Div. 1; see, however, note on Div. 1) were actually inspected and all were recorded on one and the same tablet, it is probable to suppose that all of the reports were made for king Burnaburiash.

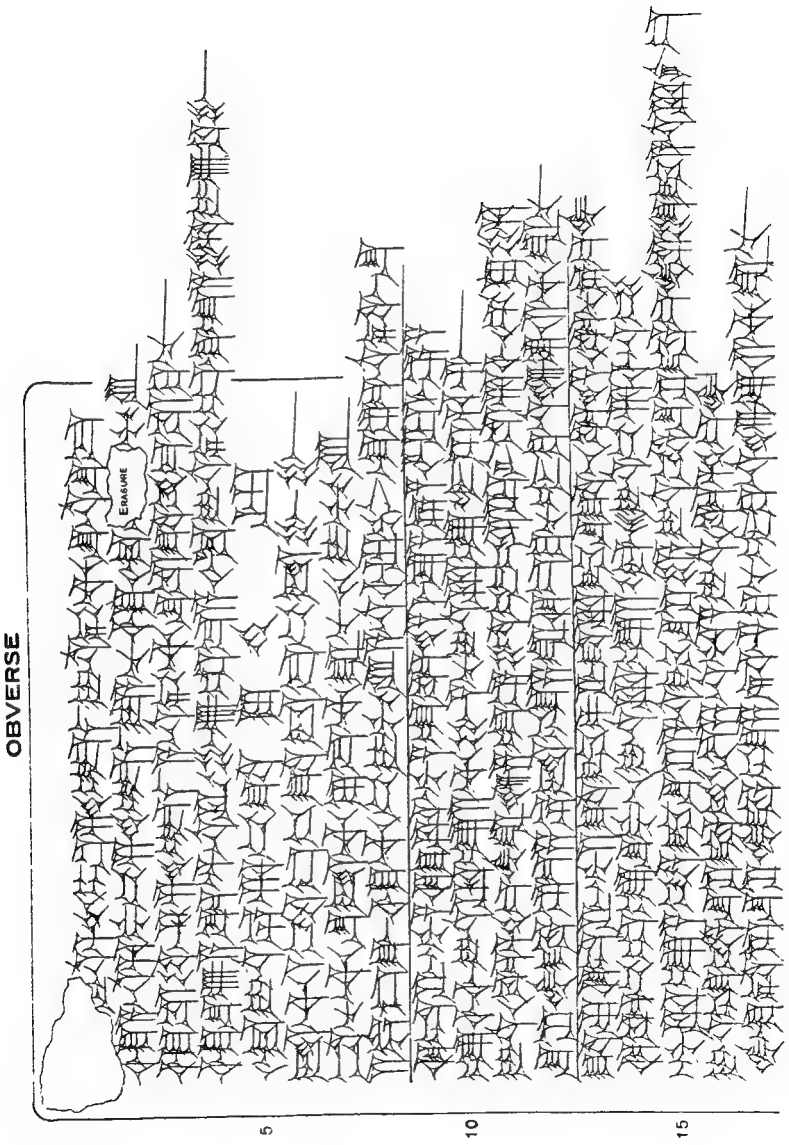
FIRST DIVISION

- 1 [amêl¹barû] i-na šutti-šu tipâra i-na ga-ti-šu na-šu-ma
- 2 ù a-na hu-ub-bi tipâra ja-nu ù Ištar i-na(?) qablîti
- 3 ù iš-te-en tipâra a-na ga-ti-šu iš-ša-am-ma iš-ku-nu
- 4 ù šu-ú a-ka-an-na iq-bu-ú um-ma-a: Ištar i-na ga-ab-la-at
a-li-i ú-ḥap-pu
- 5 Ištar i-na e-ri-bi-ša lu-ti-ib
- 6 it-ti išten LAL Ê-KUR-ša da-ba-bi id-bu-bu
- 7 ša-nu-ti-šu it-ti-lu-ma¹ ti-ra-nu 20 i-mu-ru
- 8 2 bâbê² ekallim ù ti-bi i-mu-ru a-na limnûtim^(tim) la šak-na-
ta-aš-šu

-
- 1 (The seer) in his vision took a torch into his hand,
 - 2 and a torch there was not for purifying; and Ishtar was in the midst.
 - 3 And a certain man having raised a torch upon his hand set it down(?).
 - 4 And that man then said as follows: 'Ishtar in the midst of the city has carried out the purification-rite.

¹ *ittilu* is regarded as I³ of *na'âlu*, in the translation. The verb *naṭâlu* is expected here, but its preterite is *ittul*. Perhaps *ittil* is a variant for *ittul*. The rendering would then be: 'They regarded his dreamings'. The noun *šanûtu* occurs here for the first time.

² *KĀ-Ê-GAL* is a mark on the liver in the Cassite text, Clay, *BE* 14. 4: 15, restored from the first dynasty text *CT* 4. 34, B 3. See also Jastrow, 2. 275.



20

25

30



54

- 5 May Ishtar be pleased in her entering'.
- 6 With a certain LAL-priest of her E-KUR he conversed.
- 7 When he had slept his dreamings, he saw twenty zones.
- 8 He saw 'two gates of the palace' and a swelling. It is interpreted not for evil.

The question as to what the connection is between this and the following divisions is hard to answer. It seems hardly possible that Divs. 2-10 are to be taken as dream omens in which one or more lives appeared in a dream to the sleeper, for the simple reason that it would have been a psychological impossibility for the seer to record all those numerous signs, marks and zones which he should have seen in his dream. One would suppose that there would naturally arise some inaccuracies on account of the fallacy of the human memory, which would render an interpretation on such grounds, even to a Babylonian, impossible. The author proposes with due hesitancy a possible interpretation of this section and its connection with all the succeeding divisions.

The clue to a right understanding of Div. 1 seems to lie in the word Ê-KUR-ša of line 6. What is meant by that? The translation is clear enough, i. e. 'her mountain house'. In this case Ishtar's mountain house. Is this then the name of a temple of Ishtar? This could hardly be the case, for it is far more probable to believe that there was but one Ê-KUR as the designation of a temple in Babylonia, i. e. the temple at Nippur. As Babylon had its Ê-Sagila, Borsippa its Ê-zida, Uruk its Ê-Anna, etc., Nippur had its Ê-KUR. It seems to the author, in view of the occurrence of Ê-KUR of Ishtar mentioned above, a plausible conjecture that each and every temple in Babylon had its Ê-KUR, just as each temple had its zikkurat. This would also fit perfectly well with the description which Herodotus has given us of the temple Ê-Sagila in Babylon. We read, Herod. 1. 181: ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπλεστο μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. The νηὸς μέγας here mentioned I would identify with the Ê-KUR as the name of each temple.

If this supposition is correct then it opens up an avenue for the understanding of this part of the text, although a slight correction would have to be made in the transliteration and

the translation. Perhaps read *ištēnit LAL*, instead of *ištēn LAL* and translate instead of 'a certain *LAL* priest', 'the solitary *LAL* priestess'. As *LAL* as a priestly title has not yet occurred, we are perhaps allowed to make such a wild guess in this note, and identify that priestess with the γυνή μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων in Herodotus (1. 181, 182). If our two propositions should prove true, then we have mentioned here in section one a case of official incubation, in which the vision of a liver was seen (*tirānu* 20 in line 7, and *KĀ-Ē-GAL* and 'swelling' in line 8). The place of incubation may have been that *Ē-KUR*, for Herodotus's account only states that no mortal, except the priestess, could pass the *night* there. As already stated, a liver was seen by the *barû*. When he had awakened that dream was analysed and interpreted. Now in order to make sure of his dream different liver inspections were undertaken. Div. 2 gives the first of these inspections, for it would not do to say that Div. 2 represents the analysis of the dream omen, as it does not agree with the signs mentioned in Div. 1. Div. 3 gives a second inspection and so on. Notice finally that divisions 4 and 5 actually refer back to the dream.

SECOND DIVISION¹

- 1 manzaza iši padānu šakin šubat² šumēli padāni šaknat pū
tābu šakin ME-SU³ šakin danānu šakin Hūl me-e šakin
- 2 martu ubbukat i-na šumēli marti 2 ti-bu šaknu i-na šumēli
marti šēpu šuḥ-ḥu-rat
- 3 i-na eli MĀŠ ušurtu iḥ-za-at e-li-tum il-lik ni-iš ri-ši⁴ ul-lu-uš
- 4 uban kabitti qablīti rêš-za êlit⁵ išid-za ra-ki-is ku-nu-uk-ku
na-aḥ-su 12 ti-ra-nu

¹ The description of the omens or signs on the liver are consistently given in the preterite tense, as an historical report. The present tense has been employed in the translation.

² *šubat*, written *KI-KU*; *Babyloniaca* 2. 259: 16 has *šu-bat* in an identical passage, which proves that *šubat* is the Semitic reading of *KI-KU*. Ungnad's objections (p. 271) were unfounded. See § 7. 2.

³ *ME-SU* is probably a variant of *me-si* = *issi* 'jaw'; cf. Langdon, *PBS* 12. 9. The name occurs nowhere else as the name of a part of the liver.

⁴ *nîš riši* has been rendered by *MU-SAG*; see on *MU-SAG* Klauber, p. 60, *Bemerkungen*. Our passage thus gives the reading of Meissner, *SAI* 746.

⁵ *E-it* = *eli-it* or *âsi-it*.

- 1 A 'place' it has; the 'path' is normal; the 'dwelling' at the left of the 'path' is established; the 'good mouth' is normal; the 'jaw' is normal; the *danānu* is normal; a pollution of the water has formed.
- 2 The gall is dislocated; at the left of the gall are two swellings; at the left of the gall a foot is coiled.
- 3 Upon the *MAŠ* a design is drawn; it goes upward; the 'rising of the head' is swollen.
- 4 The head of the central processus pyramidalis is high; its base is bound. The impressions are unstable. Twelve zones.

THIRD DIVISION

- 1 šagurrû:¹ manzaza iši padânî 2 ša imitti PA ibaššu ša šumêli imitti-šu ša-bit pû tâbu šakin eli-nu² danâni ušurtu
- 2 šulmu ka-bi-eš martu šu-ub-bat i-na šumêli marti 2 šepâ^{mes} i-na bi-ri-ši-na paṭir
- 3 padânu šumêli marti šakin šêr imitti ubani a-na imitti ubani ekim i-na šêr ubani qabliti ušurtu³ iš-tu imni a-na šumêli ir-bit
- 4 i-na išid šer ubani qabliti napṭaru kima mûni zikri⁴ šakin i-na eli MĀŠ ušurtu
- 5 kabittu la ta-lil⁵ ubani kabitti qabliti išid-za uš-šur ku-nu-uk-ku na-aḥ-su 12 ti-ra-nu

-
- 1 Merēy: A 'place' it has: two paths are at the right of the *PA*; on the left its right is broken; the 'good mouth' is normal; upon the *danānu* is a design.
-

¹ *ša-gur* = *šag-gur* = *tāru* and *šagurrû*, V R. 21a: 55. See below section 5. 1.

² On *clīnu* as a preposition, see also Boissier, *DA* 1. 9; *ZA* 5. 80: 14 and Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 27.

³ See below, 7. 6, and Klauber, *PRT* No. 107, Obv. 8, where *ušurtu* is also the subject.

⁴ *mûni zikri*. The *mûnu*, a small animal, is connected with the Syriac *amunā*, lizard, see *ZA* 28. 153. The *mûnu zikru* occurs also in Boissier, *DA* 8. 12.

⁵ *ta-lil* employed with *kabittu* also in §§ 6. 3; 8. 4; 10. 3. The same verb appears in the liver omen text of the first dynasty published by Ungnad, *Babyloniaca* 2. 259. 7: 23. Ungnad suggested *alālu*, 'to be strong', which is perhaps more probable than the translation given above. The preterite of *alālu*, 'be strong,' has not been found.

- 2 The blister is crushed; the gall-bladder is collapsed; at the left of the gall-bladder are two 'feet'. Between them there is a split.
- 3 The 'path' at the left of the gall-bladder is normal; the ridge of the right processus pyramidalis to the right of the processus pyramidalis is taken away; on the ridge of the central processus pyramidalis a design from the right to the left increases.
- 4 At the base of the ridge of the central processus pyramidalis is placed a split like a male lizard(?); upon the MĀŠ is a design.
- 5 The liver is not clean(?); the base of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver is loosened; the impressions are unstable. Twelve zones.

FOURTH DIVISION

- 1 [. . .] šutti ša-a-ši i-na qibit šarri i-šal-lim: ri-eš manzazi zu-uq-qur padânâ 2(?) šanâ(?) a-na šumêli imqut û(?)
[. . .] ŠUR paṭir
- 2 pû ṭābu¹ šakin danânu uš-te-eš-ni šulma iši padânu imni marti ul-lu-ma i-na ŠUR² marti šakin
- 3 martu ubbukat RU-GU-ZA³ a-na elitim ḥatta iši i-na išid RU-GU-ZA³ kakku šakin-ma šumêli innamir
- 4 imitti ubani ekim û pan⁴ SAL ekim [il]-lik šumêli ubani uṣurtu šêr ubani qabliti ma-ḥi-iš

¹ *ka-dug* is rendered by *pû ṭābu* after the *Vocabulary Hittite*, 7464, but the reading is uncertain. As part of the liver, or a mark on the liver it occurs first in Cassite texts, here and BE 14. 4: 4. The form *ka-dug-ga* occurs frequently in later texts. For references see Jastrow 2. 280 and below §§ 5. 2; 6. 2; 8. 2; 9. 2; 10. 2. In section 6 the omen occurs in a group of ten signs which are interpreted as of evil prophecy. Divs. 8 and 9 are also of evil augury, hence the expression 'good mouth' is suspicious and to be accepted with reserve.

² *šur* is read by Boissier *tubqu*; Klauber leaves it untranslated. In § 5. 2 of this text the fuller reading *A-šur* is given. The loan word *asurrû* means 'foundation, base, water-level'. For *ina asurrî marti* (written also *SUR*) see also Klauber, *PRT* 116, Obv. 2, and note.

³ *RU-GU-ZA* is written clearly. Ungnad, *Babyloniaca* 2. 259, 9: 24 seems to have a similar group of signs *RI-RU(?) - GU(?) - ZA*. That scholar, however, read *šag-Ri* for *RU-GU*. Perhaps the text should be corrected.

⁴ The scribe intended to write *SI* in which case read *pan SAL* 'the face of the *SAL*'. The *SAL* or *SALLA* of the *GAR-TAB* is mentioned in *CT*

- 5 ù i-na libbi-šu kakku izzi-iz MÀŠ uk-ku-pat ù imni paṭra-at
 6 NAD(?) imni ekim kubši ubani ṣiḥriti ekim uban kabitti
 qabliti išid-za uš-šur
 7 i-na ni-iš ri-eš kabitti ša šumêli kakku šakin-ma elitum inna-
 mir ti-ra-nu imni epšu(?) šumêli târu ir-ra la la-mu-ú

-
- 1 . . . this vision by the command of the king is favorable:
 the head of the 'place' is elevated; two paths are dou-
 bled(?); at the left it has fallen and the . . . is split.
 2 The 'good mouth' is normal; the *danânu* is doubled; it
 has a blister; the 'path' to the right of the gall-bladder
 is high, and established at the foundation of the gall-bladder.
 3 The gall-bladder is dislocated; the *RU-GU-ZA* above has a
 branch; on the base of the *RU-GU-ZA* the weapon is estab-
 lished and is seen at the left.
 4 The right processus pyramidalis is dislocated and the face
 of the SAL is torn; it moves(?). The left processus pyra-
 midalis (has) a design; the ridge of the central processus
 pyramidalis is broken,
 5 and in its midst a weapon stands. The MÀŠ is pressed and
 the right is split.
 6 The 'bed' (?) at the right is torn; the 'turban' of the little
 processus pyramidalis is torn; the base of the central pro-
 cessus pyramidalis is loosened.
 7 On the 'rise of the head' of the liver at the left a weapon
 is established, and is seen above. The zones at the right are
 well made(?), on the left they turn(?). The zone lines do
 not encircle.

FIFTH DIVISION

- 1 kimin¹ ṣagurrû: manzaza išī padânu 5-ma padânu imni a-na
 imni padâni šumêli a-na šumêli imqut ša šumêli elân-šu paṭir

20. 31, 27-36 and Klauber, *PRT* 26, Rev. 16. The *SAL-LA kabitti*, or *SAL* of the liver, occurs in *CT* 20. 45, 14: 30 pl. 11 and Klauber *PRT* 124. 7. The *kaskasu* of the liver is depressed *ina SAL-LA-šu*, Klauber 138, Obv. 13. In most cases the *SAL-LA* is said to be split, and here its face is torn. *SAL* is probably to be read *rupšu*, surface. *ŠI* has an extra stroke above the perpendicular shaft which gives the sign somewhat the appearance of *SIG*.

¹ *Kimin* refers to [. . .] *šuttu ša-a-ši i-na qibit šarri išallim*, at the beginning of § 4. For *ṣagurrû* see § 3. 1.

- 2 pû ṭābu šakin danānu ša-bit šulmu i-na asurri marti e-šir
martu šumêli ki-na-at
3 i-na šumêli marti ti-bu suḥ-ḥu-ru elān-šu šalim i-na šumêli
marti ti-bu marti napiḥ rim-mu-ka-šu² ka-bit
5 šêr imni ubani a-na imni ubani ekim û šalim šulum MĀŠ
4 i-na šumêli marti šêpu iš-tu imni a-na šumêli gu-up-pu-ša-at
a-na imni išatam ḥi-il-zu³
6 e-li-tum il-lik šap-li-tum a-na e-li-ti ik-nu-uš
7 ubani kabitti qablîti ešid-za uš-šur kaskasu imni na-bar-kud⁴
ku-nu-ku na-aḥ-su 12 ti-ra-nu

-
- 1 Ditto: mercy: A 'place' it has; the 'path' has five parts and the 'path' at the right has fallen to the right, and the 'path' to the left has fallen to the left; as for the left, its upper part is split.
2 The 'good mouth' is normal; the *danānu* is broken; a blister is designed at the base of the gall-bladder; the gall-bladder at the left is firm.
3 At the left of the gall-bladder a swelling is enclosed; its upper part is dark; at the left of the gall-bladder the swelling of the gall-bladder is inflamed; its pus is abundant.
4 At the left of the gall-bladder a foot from the right to the left is made huge.
5 The ridge on the right of the processus pyramidalis is torn towards the right of the processus pyramidalis and is dark; the blister of the MĀŠ oozes 'fire' towards the right.
6 It moves upward; the lower part bends upward.
-

² *rimmuku*, 'pus'. Conjectural derivation from *ramāku*, 'pour out'.

³ *išatam ḥi-il-zu*. The parallel passage K. 6244, 8 in Boissier, *Choix*, 99 has *ḥil-su*; see also § 7. 6. For *ḥalāšu*, 'filter, anoint', note *taḥallasu-šu* synonym of *pašāšu*, *CT* 23. 34: 35. Also *šamnu ḥalšû*, 'filtered oil', *IV R.* 60 a 25; Zimmern, *Rt.* No. 60, 14; *CT* 4. Bu. 88-5-12, 11 Rev. 6. Note also *ḥalšu*, syn. of *ruggû*, 'ointment', *RA* 10. 74: 9, Sumerian *NI-NI(i-li)*, i. e. 'oil'.

⁴ *nabarkud*. The root is *brkd*, not *brkt* as Klauber has entered the parallel passages, *PRT* 170. This is clear from *CT* 20. 31: 17, *na-par-ku-da-at*. Nevertheless Boissier, *Choix*, 96 is probably correct in identifying this root with *brkt* of the lexica. See Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 138, and below § 6. 5.—Restore Clay, *BE* 14. 4: 9 *kaskasu išteniš na-[bar-ku-]ud*. See also Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 281, n. 7.

- 7 The base of the central processus pyramidalis is loosened; the cartilage at the right of the 'place' is torn away; the impressions are unstable. Twelve zones.

SIXTH DIVISION

- 1 šuttu ši-i-ma qât ili¹ ù Iš-ta-ri: manzaza iši padânu a-na imni
imqut ù iš-du-ud
2 pû tâbu šakin danânu šakin šulma iši šapal marti šahil² i-na
rupuš šumêli ubani zihu³ nadi
3 i-na eli MĀŠ kakku iš-tu imni a-na šumêli te-bi kabittu la
ta-lil
4 kakku ^{ilu}Enlil šakin šumêli kubši kabitti ša-bit [MĀŠ]⁴
uk-ku-pa-at uban kabitti qabliti imni paṭra-at
5 kaskasu imni ù šumêli na-bar-kud ti-ra-nu 10 ù šal-ḥu

- 1 The vision (reveals) the hand of god and Ishtar: A 'place' it has; the 'path' to the right has fallen and pulls down.
2 The 'good mouth' is normal; the *danânu* is normal; a blister it has; beneath the gall bladder it drips; in the space at the left of the processus pyramidalis a furrow sets in.
3 Upon the MĀŠ a weapon rises from right to left; the liver is not clean.

¹ *qât ili ù Iš-ta-ri*, i. e. the hand of god and Ishtar, is a phrase met with in incantation and magical texts, implying a divine punishment. This sixth division, therefore, contains an evil omen.

² *NAM* = *šahālu*, 'to percolate, anoint'. The subject is *šulmu*. This passage, together with § 5. 5, confirms the meaning of *šulmu*, 'blister'.

³ *U*, Meissner, *SAI* 6563, is probably to be read *DI-ḥu*, 'furrow or cavity', with Jastrow. Klauber, *PET* p. xlv *seq.* contests this and claims that *U* always means *ubanu*. But in this line *U* follows *SU-SI* which excludes the reading *ubanu* for *U* before *RU*. Klauber has proved that *U* does stand for *ubanu*, processus pyramidalis, in most places, but before *RU* = *nadû* it can hardly have this sense. Klauber also rejects the meaning 'furrow, cavity' for *DI-ḥu*. Ungnad, *Babyloniaca* 2. 272 reads *DI-ḥu* = *zihu*, on the basis of a variant *zi-ḥu*, which seems evident.

⁴ MĀŠ is omitted on the tablet but supplied from § 4. 5 above. Since this is an evil omen and the late letter *CT* 22, No. 107, 6 has *man-zal-ta-a ukkupaṭ*, as an expression of grief, distress, one may, perhaps, infer the equation MĀŠ = *manzaltu* = *manzazu*, to be distinguished from *KI-GUB* or *NA* = *manzazu* (masculine).

- 4 The 'weapon of Enlil' is normal; the left of the 'turban' of the liver is broken; the *MĀŠ* is pressed; the central processus pyramidalis of the liver at the right is split.
- 5 The cartilage to the right and the left is torn away. Ten zones and they ramify.

SEVENTH DIVISION

- 1 Liš-pur-ma ^{il}atNin-lil li-si-ib-bu-ú:¹ manzaza iši i-na rêš šeri šahil²
- 2 ^{is}kakku šakin-ma šêru šu-bat³ imni iṭul⁴
- 3 padānu uštešni⁵ a-na šumêli imqut ù iš-du-ud pû ṭābu šakin danānu šakin šulma iši
- 4 martu ubbukat padānu šumêli marti šakin i-na šumêli marti zihê⁶ ú-du-tum nadû
- 5 išid šeri imni ubani paṭir i-na šêr ubani qabliti ušurtu iš-tu šumêli a-na imni ir-bit⁷

¹ *li-si-ib-bu-ú* for *lu sibbû* = *lušibbû*; it is taken here to be the Piel of שׁבַּח Aramaic שׁבַּח, to take captive. If this is correct then this omen seems to refer to an invasion by an enemy who will carry away the statue of Ninlil, as the Elamites did with the statue of Nana of Erech. For the form, note *usibu-ši*, *VS* 7. 26: 7; *ú-si-ib-bu-ú*, *ibid.* line 11. Another possibility is that this verb is to be connected with *šebû*, Hebrew שָׁבַע; the sense, then, would be: 'He will send and Ninlil they will satisfy'. See, however, note 7 below.

² *zi-im*, probably phonetic reading for *NAM* = *šahālu*, § 6. 2. Below in § 10. 2 *si-im*. A reading *tebi-im* is possible.

³ *šubtu*, a mark on the liver, written *DAG*, see Klauber, *PRT* p. xxxviii, and *KI-KU*, see above § 2. 1.

⁴ *ši* is rendered *iṭul* after *i-ṭul*, *Babyl.* 2. 259: 19.

⁵ *MAN* = *šanû*, 'to double'. *ṭēm mati MAN-ni* (= *išanni*), Boissier, *Choix*, 29, Rev. 6; see also the Tablet of Moral Precepts, *CT* 15. 50, Obv. 6. For *uštešni* with *šulmu*, see *VAB* 4, Index and cf. Klauber, *PRT* No. 140. 1, 2, where it is falsely connected with *šanû* to submerge.

⁶ *U-MEŠ* = *zihê*, see above, note on § 6. 2; *ú-du-tum* is certainly a color. Cf. *zihu arku*, 'the yellow furrow', *zihu šalmu*, 'the dark furrow', in *CT* 22. 3: 3 and 42: VI: 24. Also *zihu nurrub*, *CT* 20. 2, Rev. 9, certainly a colored(?) *zihu* of some kind. Hence *udû* probably from *eṭû*, 'be dark'. Note *RU* doubled to indicate the plural. Note also *zi-ḥu na-di-ma nu-ru-ub*, *Babyl.* 2. 259: 17 and *zihu (DI-ḥu) nu-ur-ru-ub*, *DA* 217. 3.

⁷ *usurtu ištu šumêli ana imni irbit*. As 'left to right' signifies something of evil portent, this would rather favor the translation of *lušibbû* by 'they will take captive'. However as this is only a single note whose meaning is sure, while in the others we do not know whether they are

- 6 šu-lum^s MĀŠ šumêli išatam hi-el-zu ekim ušurtu⁹ iḥ-za-at
 û zu-lu-la-at
 7 uban kabitti qablîti išid-za ekim um-ma-at šumêli paṭra-at
 8 i-na ni-iš ri-eš kabitti ša šumêli kakku šakin-ma elitam inna-
 mir 12 ti-ra-nu

-
- 1 He will send and Ninlil they will take away captive: A
 'place' it has; upon the top of the ridge it oozes.
 2 A weapon is placed and the ridge beholds a 'dwelling' on
 the right.
 3 The 'path' is double; to the left it has fallen and pulls
 down; the 'good mouth' is normal; *danânu* is normal; it
 has a blister.
 4 The gall-bladder is dislocated; the 'path' at the left of the
 gall-bladder is normal; at the left of the gall-bladder dark
 furrows are placed.
 5 The base of the ridge of the right processus pyramidalis is
 split; on the ridge of the central processus pyramidalis a
 design increases from the left to the right.
 6 The blister of the MĀŠ at the left oozes fire(?); it is torn;
 a design is drawn and is shadowed.
 7 The base of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver is
 torn; the mass of the left is split.
 8 At the 'rise of the head' of the liver on the left a weapon
 is established and seen above. Twelve zones.

EIGHTH DIVISION

- 1 liš-pur-ma ¹¹Nusku kimin: manzaza iši padânu a-na imni
 imqut û bâb-šu ka-mi
 2 pû tâbu šakin danânu ka-bi-[is šul]-ma iši martu imni kînat
 padânu šumêli marti šakin
 3 i-na ru-pu-š šumêli uban kabitti qablîti šumêli ubanu innamir
 i-na eli MĀŠ ušurtu iḥ-za-at

good or evil, we are still left in the dark as to the proper translation of
lisibbû. *irbit*, which occurs also in Div. 3 line 3, is most likely from *arâbu*,
 'to increase'.

⁹ *šu-lum*, variant of *DI* in § 5. 5. This reading first conjectured by
 Jastrow was established by Ungnad and is again verified by this text.

¹¹ Text has *ID* for *HAR* and *šA* for *ZA*.

- 4 kabittu la ta-lil kakku ^{il}Enlil šakin šumêli kubši ubani
bu-un-nu
5 uban kabitti qablîti išid-za uš-šur imni kin-at ku-nu-uk-ku
na-an-mu-ru
6 sikkat šîli¹ ša imni ù šumêli 3-an at-ra 12 ti-ra-nu

- 1 He will send and Nusku they will take away captive: A 'place' it has; the 'path' to the right has fallen and its 'door' is fastened.
2 The 'good mouth' is normal; *danânu* is trodden; a blister it has; the gall-bladder at the right is firm; a 'path' at the left of the gall-bladder is placed.
3 On the surface at the left of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver the left processus pyramidalis is seen; upon the *MÂŠ* a design is traced.
4 The liver is not clean. The weapon of Enlil is placed. The left 'turban' of the processus pyramidalis is bright.
5 The base of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver is loosened; the right is firm; a seal impression is seen.
6 The 'breast bone' at the right and the left is thrice in excess. Twelve zones.

NINTH DIVISION

- 1 liš-pur-ma ^{mul}Kak-si-di¹ kimin: manzaza iši padânu a-na
imni imqut ù iš-du-ud
2 pû ṭabu šakin danânu šakin šulma iši martu ubbukat i-na
šumêli marti ti-bu šakin
3 šumêli ubani tarik² i-na eli *MÂŠ* kiz-zu-ur-tum e-li-tum il-lik
4 uban kabitti qablîti išid-za uš-šur
5 kaskasu šumêli ka-pi-is imni na-bar-kud 14 ti-ra-nu

- 1 He will send and Beteigeuze they will take captive: A 'place' it has; the 'path' to the right has fallen and pulls.
2 The 'good mouth' is normal; *danânu* is normal; a blister it has; the gall-bladder is torn away; at the left of the gall-bladder is a swelling.

¹ On *KAK-TI*, see *AJSL* 30. 78.

² The star *KAK-SI-DI* is generally identified with Alpha of Orion, which was connected with Ninurash in mythology.

³ On *DAE* = *tarak* in liver-omens, see Langdon, *Sum. Gram.*, 209.

- 3 The left of the processus pyramidalis is split; upon the *MĀŠ* moves a high(?).
- 4 The base of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver is loosened.
- 5 The cartilage at the left is trodden; the right is torn. Fourteen zones.

TENTH DIVISION

- 1 a-na ḥarrani li-il-lik: manzaza iši ne-ip-tu-ú¹ i-na imni šakin
- 2 pû ṭābu šakin danānu šakin šulma iši šapal marti išatam
šahil² i-na eli MĀŠ ušurtu
- 3 kabittu la ta-lil ubanu kabitti qablīti išid-za ra-ki-is
- 4 kabittu šu-up-pu-ul-ma šumēli tarik sikkat šīli ša šumēli
mar-ša-at
- 5 12 ti-ra-nu

-
- 1 He will go on a journey: A 'place' it has; a breach at the right is made.
 - 2 The 'good mouth' is normal; *danānu* is normal; a blister it has; beneath the gall-bladder fire it exudes(??); upon the *MĀŠ* is a design.
 - 3 The liver is not clean; the base of the central processus pyramidalis of the liver is bound.
 - 4 The liver is depressed(?) and the left is split; the 'breast bone' at the left is narrow.
 - 5 Twelve zones.

Arḥu Duzu umu 22^{kam}

Šattu 21^{kam}

Bur-na-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL-E

Nippurû^{ki}

Month Duzu, day 22d.

Year 21st. (of)

Burnaburiash, the King

Nippur.

¹ On *neptû*, breach, opening, see Boissier, *DA* 40. 12. For parallel passages, see *BE* 14. 14, 4: 13, and *CT* 20. 23: 6. Also Jastrow, 2. 281, n. 14.

² The transcription of *NA-SI-IM* is uncertain.

AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP AND CHINESE HISTORY

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IT OUGHT hardly to be necessary in these days to point out the interest and importance of the history of China as a field for the scholarship of the West. No other existing nation has a continuous history reaching back to so remote a period. Few nations have influenced by their culture a larger section of mankind, and to few has it been given to dominate for so many centuries so large a proportion of the population or so fertile a part of the globe. No great people of to-day, not even the Russians, presents a more interesting example of transition, and it is doubtful whether the future of any other nation is more uncertain or more fraught with possibilities of peril or of happiness for the entire world. In no other, taking its centuries as a whole, is historical material more abundant or more worthy of the study of the painstaking student. In sharp contrast to the neighboring peoples of India, the Chinese have almost from the beginning had the historical sense and have left to posterity a mass of material, much of it carefully and critically collected, which is at once the joy and the despair of the Occidental scholar.

European students have for some two centuries been gradually awakening to the possibilities of the field. In a really voluminous literature, which, it must be said, is by no means well apportioned among the various dynasties and epochs, they have made a good beginning at interpreting Chinese development to the world. France, from the time of the early Jesuit missionaries, has not lacked sinologues of note. Nearly a hundred and fifty years separate Father de Mailla's translation of the T'ung Chien Kang Mu into the thirteen handsome but not entirely flawless volumes of his *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, and Chavannes' still uncompleted, masterly, and painstaking translation of Ssu Ma Ch'ien. The interval has been filled with many names that are household words to students of things Chinese, and the files of periodicals in French, such as the *Journal Asiatique* and *T'oung Pao*, are substantial evidence of the con-

tinuous output of work of a high order. During the last century England has produced numbers of scholars who have added vastly to the West's understanding of Chinese history. Such men as Legge, Wylie, Parker, Giles, and Putnam Weale, to mention only a few of the more outstanding figures, will long be remembered as noteworthy contributors to the world's knowledge of the remote and the more recent history of the Middle Kingdom. Each year the journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society make useful additions to our stock of information. German scholarship, although rather more recently applied to China than has been that of England and France, or even that of the United States, has made the world its debtor. To indicate how noteworthy have been the Teutonic contributions, one need only point out that America's two most eminent living students of China's earlier history, Professor Hirth and Dr. Laufer, are both of German birth and training.

One might, from the standpoint of America's part in Far Eastern affairs, expect from our native-born scholars, especially those of the present generation, a contribution to the world's knowledge of Chinese history, which, if not as noteworthy as that of our European cousins, would at least not lag far behind in volume and quality. The chief sources of European sinologues have been the consular and diplomatic service, the foreign contingent of the Chinese customs staff, and the missionary body. Now, the personnel of the American consular establishment in China has not until very recently been worthy of comparison in training and scholarship with that of England, nor has the customs staff contained as many Americans as Englishmen and Continentals. American missionaries, on the other hand, are to-day more numerous than those from any other single country. They have excelled particularly in educational work and on the whole are of a high average of training and ability. When one remembers the men whom the English missionary body has furnished to Chinese historical scholarship, Legge, Wylie, MacGowan, Soothill, and Edkins, for example, one expects to find names of at least equal note in the ranks of the American churchmen.

It must be confessed, however, that on the whole a careful survey of the field of American historical scholarship in things

Chinese begets in one a feeling of disappointment. Only two or three of our diplomats and consuls have made literary contributions of note, and most missionaries have seemingly been too much engrossed in their immediate problems of organization, administration, and propaganda to devote much time to a scholarly study of the land in which they work. In America itself our colleges and universities, in spite of the fact that their hospitable curricula have made room for nearly every field of human knowledge, have paid but scant attention to China. In perhaps thirty institutions the subject is touched on in some way, but usually only in a semester survey course of the Far East. In only three can there be had anything approaching an adequate preparation for a thorough study of the Chinese language, institutions, and history. So great has been the dearth of American sinologues that two of these three institutions have had to go to Europe for scholars to fill their chairs of Chinese. The *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, although it has maintained a high standard of scholarship and has published in its pages a few valuable articles on Chinese historical subjects, has not achieved the size nor the circulation of the trans-Atlantic periodicals of similar aim.

The early years of American Chinese scholarship seemed to augur well for the future. Dr. S. Wells Williams, one of the first to represent the American Church in China, was a master of the language and literature, and through a long life as missionary, diplomat, and finally as professor at Yale, made notable contributions to the foreigner's knowledge of his adopted country. His dictionary is still in use and his *Middle Kingdom*¹ is probably even now the best well-rounded survey of China and Chinese civilization as they were forty years ago. The historical chapters of the *Middle Kingdom* furnished in their day an excellent and well proportioned compendium of Chinese history as the latter was then known to the best foreign scholars. Most of the many articles that appeared from Dr. Williams' pen were, however, not on strictly historical subjects. It is a pleasure to add that the work of the father has been ably supplemented by that of his son, Professor Frederick Wells Williams of Yale. By his assistance in the revision of the *Mid-*

¹ The first edition appeared in 1848 and the last revision in 1883.

dle Kingdom, by his lives of his father and of Anson Burlingame, by his many published articles, his more than two decades of teaching, and the years when, as an advocate of a more careful study by Americans of the history and current problems of the Far East, his was almost a solitary voice crying in the wilderness, Professor Williams has made greatly his debtor all American students of the history and the problems of China.

The elder Williams and the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, another of the early missionaries of the American Board, were chiefly responsible for the *Chinese Repository*. This publication was started by Bridgman in 1832 and had as its chief purpose the spreading among foreigners of information concerning China. It continued until 1851 and within its pages are to be found numerous articles of a strictly historical nature and covering a wide range of subjects. Few, if any, of these papers can be called full or final contributions to our knowledge of Chinese history: they were not meant to be that. The publication served a useful purpose in its day, however, and gave brighter promise for the future of American scholarship than has yet been fulfilled.

The only other missionary whose historical contributions approximate in volume those of Dr. Williams or Mr. Bridgman has been Dr. W. A. P. Martin. Dr. Martin really belongs to the older school of missionaries, although death has only recently brought to an end his more than a half-century in China. His *Hanlin Papers*, which appeared in 1880, is of his many publications the one of most interest to historians. It is really a collection of studies, some of which had previously appeared in print and of which the most widely known, a description of international law in ancient China, is an outgrowth of Dr. Martin's interest in the education of Chinese diplomats. He has a good volume on *The Awakening of China* (New York, 1907), and another on *The Siege of Peking* (published in 1900). Dr. Martin was, however, only incidentally an historian and his permanent contributions to China were chiefly made in other lines of service. The same must rather regretfully be said of virtually all the American missionaries of the present generation. Few have published enough to be worthy of remembrance as historians. President F. L. H. Pott, of St. John's University,

Shanghai, has given us an excellent and widely used, but very brief summary of *Chinese History*.² The Rev. Frank H. Chalfant made a noteworthy collection of specimens of early Chinese writing and has left a valuable but short treatise on the subject,³ and a still shorter paper on the weights and measures of the Ch'in Dynasty.⁴ The Rev. Dr. Arthur H. Smith has given us an account of the Boxer uprising, valuable for what he knew through personal observation.⁵ His studies of Chinese life in his *Chinese Characteristics*⁶ and *Village Life in China*⁷ may be of value to the future student of conditions that are fast passing. It is worth while noting, as well, an interesting paper by Dr. John C. Ferguson on the great radical of the Sung Dynasty, Wang An Shih.⁸

Even on the philosophers and the religious history of China where theologically trained men would be naturally most interested, American missionaries have published but little that is now of value. Dr. F. G. Henke has recently given us a capital translation of Wang Yang Ming, whose thought had so much influence in the Japan of Tokugawa times. That is about the only work that we need notice, however. It has been left to Paul Carus, through his Open Court Publishing Company, which brought out Dr. Henke's work, to provide an American translation of the Tao Teh Ching⁹ and essays on Chinese thought¹⁰ and Chinese philosophy.

Our diplomats and consuls have seemingly been about as little historically inclined as have our missionaries. There are only three names on our list that are worthy of note. These three, however, by the excellence of their work have done much to atone for the negligence of the rest of their colleagues. Dr. E. T. Williams has given us two or three studies which make

² Latest edition, Shanghai, 1915.

³ In *Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Sept. 1906.

⁴ *Journ. N.C.B. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. 35 (1903-1904), pp. 21-25.

⁵ *China in Convulsion*.

⁶ Shanghai, 1890.

⁷ F. H. Revell, 1899.

⁸ *Journ. N.C.B. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. 35, pp. 65-75.

⁹ *Lao Tze's Tao Teh Ching*. Chicago, 1898.

¹⁰ Chicago, 1898.

us wish that he might have more leisure for such things.¹¹ The work of the late William Woodville Rockhill by its erudition and painstaking thoroughness places him in the front ranks of sinologues. He has given us along with other shorter studies, *The Life of Buddha and the Early History of his Order derived from Tibetan Works,—followed by Notices of the Early History of Thibet and Khoten* (London, 1884); *Diplomatic Missions to the Court of China*, published in the second volume of the *Review of the American Historical Association*;¹² *Treaties and Conventions with or Concerning China and Korea, 1894-1904, together with Various State Papers and Documents Affecting Foreign Interests*;¹³ *Korea and its Relations with China*;¹⁴ and *China's Intercourse with Korea from the Fifteenth Century to 1895*.¹⁵ Together with Professor Hirth he has given us a translation of Chau Ju-Kua's work on Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁶ Minister Paul S. Reinsch, while still a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, gave us his well known *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*,¹⁷ so valuable to students of recent Oriental history.

One must acknowledge with shame that American historians have contributed but little to the story of European diplomacy in the Far East. We do not even have an adequate account of our own relations with China. Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck has recently given us an excellent study, *Contemporary Politics in the Far East*.¹⁸ There is an interesting but rather sketchy account of American relations in the Pacific and the Far East by James M. Callahan.¹⁹ The volume, *American Diplomacy in*

¹¹ 'Hung-Wu and his Capital', in *Journ. N.C.B. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1891-2, pp. 42-174, and 'Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code', *ibid.* Vol. 28 (pp. 61-96), 1901.

¹² *Am. Historical Review*, Vol. 2, pp. 427-442, 627-643.

¹³ Washington, 1904.

¹⁴ *Journ. of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 13 (1888).

¹⁵ London, 1905.

¹⁶ St. Petersburg, 1912.

¹⁷ Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

¹⁸ New York, 1916.

¹⁹ *American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East, 1784-1900*, Baltimore, 1901.

the Orient, by the late John W. Foster,²⁰ is really our best book in the field, but even that is too brief. Perhaps the writer will not be considered too presumptuous if he mentions his own study, *The History of Early Relations Between the United States and China, 1784-1844*,²¹ which may at least boast the virtue of being the only complete survey of the years that it covers. There are a few biographies of noteworthy American missionaries, but there is no adequate history of American missions, as a whole or, one may add, of the general missionary movement in China. Mr. Frank E. Hineckley has a fairly good-sized account of American consular jurisdiction in the Orient.²² There is quite a mass of contemporaneous material, largely of a controversial nature, on Chinese immigration and the exclusion acts, but no one has yet given us an unbiased, full, and scholarly treatment of that important phase of our relations with Asia.

In sharp contrast with French and German scholarship, no American-born student who has not been directly or indirectly connected with the missionary or diplomatic bodies, has ever given himself to Chinese history as his major field. A few have, however, produced works which are of value to the historical student. Thus we have an account of the international law and diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War by Mr. Amos S. Hershey;²³ an admirable and sympathetic historical account of art in China and Japan by the late E. F. Fenollosa;²⁴ a history of the Boxer uprising by Dr. Paul H. Clements;²⁵ and a narrative of the Revolution of 1911 in a rather sketchy newspaper style by an eye-witness, Edward J. Dingle.²⁶ Dr. Ellsworth Huntington's suggestive studies on the geography and climate of Central Asia cannot be ignored by students of the older periods of China's history.

²⁰ Houghton Mifflin, 1904.

²¹ *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1917.

²² *American Consular Jurisdiction in the Orient*, Washington, 1906.

²³ *The International Law and Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War*, Macmillan, 1906.

²⁴ *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, London.

²⁵ *The Boxer Rebellion, a Political and Diplomatic Review*, New York (Columbia University).

²⁶ *China's Revolution*, Shanghai, 1912.

Fortunately for the United States, the all too scanty list of notable American sinologues has had added to it three men of foreign training, Professor Friedrich Hirth of Columbia, Professor A. Forke of the University of California, and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History. All of these are of German birth and education and have had extended residence and travel in China. Professor Hirth, especially, has given to the world, both before and after coming to this country, a very large number of important articles and books, the mere enumeration of which would lengthen this paper beyond its proper limits. He has written on a wide variety of subjects, but his principal contributions have been made on early Chinese intercourse with the West. His *China and the Roman Orient*²⁷ has long been the standard authority in its field, and we look forward eagerly to the revision which he is promising to give us. We have already noticed his translation of Chao Ju-Kua made jointly with Mr. Rockhill. This same subject has called forth several articles from his pen, and his interest in it has led him into studies of various phases of Chinese commerce with the nearer East and of Chinese geographic knowledge during the time of our middle ages. His *Ancient History of China*, while at times tantalizing in its brevity, is probably the best comprehensive account of the period to be found in any Western language.

Professor Forke has concerned himself primarily with the philosophers of China, and his translation of the rather voluminous Lun Heng of the heterodox philosopher Wang Chung of the first century B. C. is an enviable example of painstaking scholarship and wide erudition.

Dr. Laufer has contributed principally to our knowledge of Chinese archaeology. A list of his publications, like that of Professor Hirth's, would carry us far beyond our allotted space. Merely as examples of what his prolific pen has given us, may be mentioned *Jade. A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*;²⁸ *Chinese Grave Sculptures of the Han Period*;²⁹ *Chinese*

²⁷ Shanghai, 1885.

²⁸ Chicago, Field Museum.

²⁹ London, 1911.

*Clay Figures. Part 1. Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour;*³⁰ *Arabic and Chinese Trade in Walrus and Nar-whal Ivory;* and *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China.*³¹ Fortunately for us, Dr. Laufer is really just at the beginning of his work and can reasonably look forward to many years of productive scholarship.

In enumerating the students of other nations who by coming to us have made us their debtors, we must not forget Professor Asakawa of Yale. While his work has been almost exclusively in Japanese history, his field has occasionally touched on China, especially in his account of the Russo-Japanese War,³² and we cannot but wish for our own selfish interest that he might more frequently give us books and articles on the history of Chino-Japanese relations.

One final form of the American contribution to the study of Chinese history is in a sense an indirect one, the training of Chinese in American institutions in the United States and the Orient. Several thousand of these students are to be found in the schools and colleges maintained by American missions in China and some fifteen hundred are now in the United States. It is reasonable to suppose that the majority of these must come to some extent under the influence of the ideals and methods of American historical scholarship and that at least a few will be stimulated to apply themselves to the study of the history of their native land. Already there are indications that this is to be the case. Doctoral dissertations by Chinese on historical subjects have appeared from time to time, particularly in the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. As yet these have done little more than give promise of a useful future for their authors, but it is to be hoped that this promise will in many cases be fulfilled and that Chinese scholars, trained in the canons of Western historical criticism, will before many years be reinterpreting the past of their native land for the benefit of their own people and the peoples of the Occident.

One cannot leave the subject of this paper without expressing a regret that American historical scholarship has paid so scant

³⁰ Chicago, 1914.

³¹ Chicago, 1917.

³² *The Russo-Japanese Conflict, Its Causes and Issues*, Westminster, 1904.

attention to China. Were there signs of improvement one might take hope, but our best work by native Americans is mostly in the past and there is but little indication that recruits are arising from our graduate schools to take the places of those who have gone. Very few of our doctoral dissertations are on Chinese subjects, the publications from our present missionary and diplomatic bodies give us small encouragement. A discussion of the possible remedies for the situation lies outside the scope of this paper, but the writer will perhaps be pardoned if he expresses his conviction that the remedies must be found and his hope that they will be sought for and applied.

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN ORIENTAL STUDIES

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS FOR 1918*

CHARLES C. TORREY
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SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, in March, 1843, the American Oriental Society was incorporated, by the laws of the State of Massachusetts. Many of us who are present today remember the celebration of the semi-centennial of the Society in Boston, in 1893. The interval of twenty-five years seems to us a short one, though it has witnessed some important changes, and a steady advance in the most of the activities represented by our organization. There is an obvious fitness in the accidental circumstance that whereas the completion of fifty years of work was commemorated in Boston, where the Society was founded, the present celebration takes place in New Haven, which in former years shared with Boston the honor of being the chief place of meeting, and now may justly claim to be the true center, since it is the home of the Society's library and the place where its Journal is printed.

I shall not dwell upon past history, though the temptation to do so is strong at this time, in the city which was the home of Salisbury and Whitney and others whom the world of scholars will always delight to honor. Other speakers will call them to mind in the course of our meeting. It has seemed to me suitable, on this anniversary, to give the President's address a more general character than usual. Instead of choosing some subject of which I have special expert knowledge, I shall rehearse very briefly things which you all know; hoping as I do so that the occasion and the interest of the matters to be considered may combine to make the recital stimulating. I cannot claim to speak for the Society, even in all the cases where I employ the first person plural. I am merely expressing my own opinions. The present time is in many ways a critical one for oriental

* Delivered before the American Oriental Society in New Haven, April 2, 1918.

studies in this country, and it may be well for us to consider in a general way the ground of their importance here and now, and the outlook for their development in the near future. It requires no special gift of prophecy to foresee that the next decade is likely to be a very important one in the history of this Society and the work which it represents.

I recently read in a well known educational journal the prediction that after the war our colleges and universities will give less time than at present to such studies as ancient languages, literature, and history, replacing them by disciplines of greater practical value. From many quarters we have heard something similar. It is inevitable that at such a time as this, when the fate of nations, our own included, is seen to rest immediately on material equipment and effectiveness, the desire should be strong in all of us to simplify and strengthen the machinery which is turning out the human product on which we have especially to rely. More than this, we have been made to see, more or less clearly, our inability, as a nation, to meet fully the demand of the present crisis. 'Show us men who can do things!' is the cry in every part of the land; and all our educational institutions are faced with the question whether they have done their best to turn out such men. Confession of shortcoming is general and sincere, and every thought is turned, of necessity, to the resources and activities which are directly available in this time of need. 'Let us give our time and strength, more than ever before, to those lines of training and investigation which will prepare men for active public service. As for cultural studies, which are many, let us keep those which lie nearest, and drop those which are remote from present-day interests.' It is no wonder that this cry should be raised, and should seem entirely justified. But there is a wide difference between an emergency measure and a settled policy, and it is not likely that the humanities are in serious danger, even in this country and by reason of the war.

And what is 'public service'? The phrase is one which has been much misused, to the extent of contrasting the calling understood by the crowd with the pursuit of studies not obviously and immediately practical. In a former paper read before this Society I referred to the hope expressed by an officer of the Carnegie Institution that classical and oriental studies

might some day be raised to the level of anthropology and similar sciences. At a Chamber of Commerce dinner (if I remember rightly) held in New Haven some years ago, a paper was read in which the relation of Yale University to the city was considered at length. The paper was afterward printed, and I read it. Its author undertook to answer the question, Wherein lies the glory of such a city as this? He proceeded to show, with abundant illustration, that the glory and pride of a city lies in its broad and well-made streets, its good sidewalks, its public buildings, its shade-trees, and its water-front. And since it was capable of demonstration that Yale had never taken any important part in beautifying the streets or the water-front, he drew the conclusion that the University had on the whole done the city more harm than good. The idea that the pride and glory of a city might to some degree rest in its great men plainly never had occurred to him—any more than it had to the officer of the Carnegie Institution.

On another occasion a patriotic native of this city, nettled by hearing eulogies of William D. Whitney, whom he had known as a scholar of wide reputation—celebrated perhaps especially in foreign lands—asked somewhat indignantly what Professor Whitney had ever done for New Haven. The question was asked in the hearing of the late Professor Lounsbury, whose reply, if correctly reported, illustrates both his sound common sense and his broad outlook on the English language: 'Whitney? Do for New Haven? Gosh, he lived in it!'

The needs of cities and countries, even in a time of bitter struggle, are more varied than can be seen in any hasty survey. More than this, it is just where and when the feeling is strongest that man shall live by bread alone that the saving influence of great ideas must not be forgotten. The time when all eyes are fixed on the soil, the forces of nature, and mechanical contrivances, is the time to take thought for what is really best and most important in human achievement, and to assist in providing the only corrective of national near-sightedness by opening windows into distant lands and the remote past, so that men may be taught by history and inspired by great literature. The old world has stored up the fruit of its vast experience, and the new world needs it all; no multitude of scholars, nor succession of years, will ever suffice to exhaust the supply.

We are not concerned to plead the cause of the Orient; the Orient can and will take care of itself. The Western world could never cut loose from its older and wiser sister, even if it would. One can imagine a half-smile on the face of the Sphinx at the suggestion, or the sapient anecdotes which Kalila and Dimna would tell to each other, illustrating the folly of those who nourish the limbs and muscles at the expense of the vital organs. Even this busy land of ours, with all its exaggeration of material values, knows that it has some need of Egypt and China, of Babylonia and India and Palestine, for other reasons than recreation and commerce. Every age listens gladly to the appeal of the East when it hears it. But it is the call of the West, rather than of the East, to which we are just now listening. The question, what is most salutary for our own country, is being asked and answered, not in a new tone, but with a new vehemence; and there is therefore good reason for emphasizing, on such an occasion as this, the present importance of liberal studies in general and our own special group of studies in particular.

Peoples, like individuals, differ from one another in mental grasp, moral balance, and spiritual power. No one of these possessions is gained without long effort, or maintained without constant contribution from every available source. The wide distance between the backward nation and the highly civilized nation is not simply a matter of locomotives and telephones and shop management. It is the difference in knowledge of human life in all its dimensions. The crisis in which we now stand can only make these facts clearer, when once they are apprehended. Any discipline that can give a broader view of the world and its progress, awaken and promote human sympathy of an all-inclusive reach, and contribute to a better understanding among diverse peoples, is called for now. Every impulse in this direction can have its effect in this present age as never before, now that modern inventions and enterprise have so far removed the barriers of time and space.

The study of language is humanizing, as everyone knows. The old Roman poet Ennius was wont to say that he had three hearts, because he was master of three languages. The one was Latin, in which he wrote and lived his life as a cultivated Roman citizen; another was his native dialect Oscan, with all its

associations and attachments; the third was Greek. What this third 'heart' meant to him we can judge in some measure from our reading of Cicero and other Roman writers. It was the heart of the great Hellenic world, with all the history and the treasures of literature which eventually exerted such a profound influence on the Roman civilization. Ennius had been given a look into the past, and into the thought of men of another race, and knew that his soul was changed as a result. Greek was to him and to the scholars and statesmen of his nation not a language to be used in intercourse with Greeks, or in visiting Athens, but the means of access to a mighty world that was gone.

It is true in general that there is more of the civilizing, broadening power in the study of the ancient language or history than of the modern, for the greater vista of time is an important added factor. There are few educating influences more potent than a genuine glimpse of great antiquity; the very thought has in it something ennobling. This is one reason, among others, why the place of the ancient classics in the college curriculum can never be filled by modern language and literature. The very remoteness of the Graeco-Roman world gives a peculiar value to the contact with it; and the same is true, in even greater degree, of our ancient Eastern disciplines. There is also something disinterested in the pursuit of them which contributes to the idea of *magnanimitas* of which every student becomes more or less conscious. At the other end of the linguistic scale, so far as civilizing value is concerned, stand those modern languages the study of which is labeled: 'mainly for commercial purposes.' What is said of language applies to literature and history as well, for like reasons.

The oriental studies which we are pursuing have never been more needed in the Occident than they are today. They stand in high degree for the cultivation of the imagination, and for the comprehending of many far-off civilizations. There is inevitably gained from them a wider horizon and some appreciation of points of view vastly different from our own. Even a glance at the titles of the papers included in the program of this meeting will give some idea of the breadth of interest covered by the work of our Society; and whoever has studied the history of such investigations as these knows how certain is the practical

benefit from them, in any age of the world, even when they are pursued by the most typical specimen of the 'professor' as he is pictured in the comic journals.

One of my colleagues in another university, not an orientalist but one whose work is in the field of ancient history, said to me recently that he felt keenly the remoteness of his habitual employment from the needs of the present crisis, and the insufficiency of the contribution he was making to the common effort of our people in their great struggle. The same feeling has come to many, perhaps all of us during the past year, and every man must answer for himself the question of his own most valuable effort. One who does not happen to have in hand, nor within immediate reach, an undertaking of high importance may well turn aside for the time being to take up some one of the many emergency tasks which are waiting.

But there is another side to consider. The expert in our field is needed at his post, and perhaps as never before. There are possibilities of increased national efficiency, and even leadership, in the line of our special pursuits, which are too great to be sacrificed. We certainly have the opportunity now to take and hold a more important place for the American branch of our department of science than it has ever occupied. We have to include in our aim both speedy victory in the war and also permanent usefulness among the nations of the earth. This brings us again to the thought of what we can do to render less likely the recurrence of such a calamity as this war. It has been said over and over again, and with perfect truth, that the awful struggle which is now going on is largely the result of restricted vision and defective imagination. One thing that can help to correct the distorted perspective of a narrow nationalism is a more just view of human history; and the researches that result in giving some idea of its vast stretch and infinite variety, while contributing at the same time to a better understanding of human nature, will do their important part in promoting true international sympathy. The investigations fostered by this organization of ours are useful in just this way, leading as they do both to mutual comprehension and also to joint labor in a noble field of effort. There is a common possession of all the modern highly educated peoples which is unique and of priceless value. It is the written record of the mighty civilizations of the

ancient world, and of the thought and feeling of their great men. There are stores of poetry and philosophy, of anecdote and humor, of writings embodying those transforming ideas which seers have conceived and successive generations have perpetuated. We think especially of the Sacred Books of the East: The scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the Vedas, the Avesta, the Koran, and the other religious classics of Asia and Egypt. All the branching roads of the higher learning of our day lead back to this common standing ground, where we and our fellows of other nations meet in a kind of scholarly alliance that has no true parallel elsewhere. The students and masters of philosophy, religion, history, literature, language, art, all coöperate here in a multitude of such researches as are normally free from any bearing on industries or commerce or colonization, nor even concerned with modern literary achievement; and are undertaken in a spirit of the most friendly collaboration and competition. Without this vast neutral field of mutual service, lying so largely in the ancient Orient, trodden by many generations of scholars and still inexhaustible, the world would be incomparably poorer and weaker. We have, in our day and according to the measure of our ability, the duty and privilege of aiding here.

Of course neither oriental studies nor any others will ever do away with national rivalry and jealousy. A time when the most humanizing of studies flourish may be a period in which peoples are industriously throttling one another; just as it is quite possible that an age of great inventions and industrial advancement should be one of small souls. We know only too well that a considerable amount of investigation of the lands and peoples of the East has been a part of the larger operation of preying upon them. We have seen in recent years a good many bulky volumes of oriental research brought into being by what might be called a gastronomic interest, as the scientist at the dinner table examines with satisfaction the chemical constituents of his morsel before swallowing it. Even so, the volume will do its good work, and the next generation, if Allah wills, will be less greedy. Unquestionably, the colonial administration of such countries as North Africa, Egypt, and India has been more considerate because of the popular and scholarly interest in the lands and their past history. Even the Turk has treated Pales-

tine and Syria very differently by reason of their archaeological and religious importance in the eyes of Western peoples.

I think it will hardly be denied, by those who investigate, that the atmosphere of oriental studies in the last two or three decades has not been favorable to a profound and sympathetic *interpretation* of Orientals and their work. Our modern nations have perhaps been so occupied with the thought of their own greatness that they have not been able to see and appreciate the greatness of the ancients. I am thinking of achievement as compared with opportunity, when I speak of this shortcoming in regard to sympathetic understanding. A great amount of new material has come to light, and scholarly research has made very important advance in many directions; but the main tendency of the time has been to keep to the surface rather than to go deep.

It has been a singularly barren time for Biblical interpretation of the first rank, for instance. The Old Testament scholarship of Europe, on which we were wont to rely, comes very near being negligible at present. Very few commentaries or other treatises of really large caliber have appeared in the present generation, and the most of the output has been of distinctly poor quality. In particular, the German exegesis, which has led the way for all the rest, has been decidedly anti-Semitic, with the result which can be imagined, though it has hardly been understood. In the domain of old Hebrew verse, where important progress has been made in comprehension of the external form, the interpretation of the content has stood at the very lowest ebb. We have been tortured by a long series of volumes written by men who have no feeling for poetry, and no patience with the unfortunate writers they are supposed to expound. It is refreshing to turn back to Herder's *Geist der hebräischen Poesie*, written in the 18th century. A somewhat similar judgment may justly be passed in regard to Mohammedan literature and history, and also (though less sweeping) concerning the principal religions and sacred writings of the remainder of the East. There has been a remarkable lack of such books as open a new door into the past, giving us a view which we feel to be true and know to be inspiring.

Judging from the literature which has recently appeared, our American scholars are quite as likely to meet this need of a

more profound and more sympathetic interpretation of the East as are those of any other country. What we have already contributed in this direction, in recent years, constitutes a very significant part of the total amount: in the History of Religions; Studies of Japan, China, India, and Persia; the life of Old Egypt and Babylonia; Hebrew history and literature; the art of various eastern lands. We cannot claim to have done our best, either in promoting a better understanding between Orient and Occident, or in creating in this country what is so much needed, a more lively and intelligent interest in Eastern peoples and problems. But we can take a justified though perhaps chastened satisfaction in saying to ourselves at this time—what it is less likely that anyone else will say for us—that the efforts we are making have proved their high value, and will count for even more in the near future. Whether we are primarily interested in the phenomena of speech, or in literature, or in the course of political history, we are all doing work which needs to be done here at home, and are preparing the way for an era of more effective collaboration with our colleagues abroad.

The peoples and lands of the Orient, and the various 'Eastern questions,' are surely coming into closer and closer contact with our national life, whether we desire it or not. Our country is already confronted with new responsibilities, some only half comprehended, while doubtless others are yet to arise. No one can predict what, or when, or how much; but this is certain, that we shall take a more active part than we ever have taken before in preserving the equilibrium of the world through real fellowship and coöperation with the nations of the East. We have all been startled by the relative magnitude and urgency of the oriental problems in the present war and in the preparations for it, and have come to see that under the existing conditions these problems were neither accidental nor avoidable. We have also learned that whether our own remoteness from it all was justified or not, it will neither be justified nor possible in the future. We are bound to gain a better understanding of the great nations of the far East, of the Balkan states (if any are left, after the war), of the various Mohammedan peoples. It belongs to this Oriental Society of ours to give more effective aid in this direction than it ever has given in the past. There are opportunities of spreading information and interest through

popular journals and magazines which we have not used to the full.

We American orientalists have always been at a great disadvantage, as compared with our colleagues of England, France, Holland, Germany, and other European countries, since we have no such close contact as they have with the Orient. The disadvantage will surely be lessened, as time goes on, but it will still continue; both because geographical position is a permanent thing, and also because the political relations of Europe with Asia and Africa will not be greatly modified in any time that we can foresee. We shall not have the encouragement of widespread popular interest produced by colonial administration and the resulting constant intercourse. Political interest, though somewhat quickened, will certainly not be keen. There is one point in our sphere of influence as orientalists, however, at which the foreign policy of our national government sorely needs a direct stimulus which we can help to give. We need to have much better prepared and better paid consuls in oriental lands. The time should come very soon when men will not be sent out to these important posts without a thorough training for the civil service, and an examination proving fitness for the special field of work. We ought to make our voice heard without delay in this demand, both as private individuals and also as a society. Incidentally, the reform would contribute appreciably to the prestige of our special studies.

The lack of any government aid in our more ambitious projects of research, that aid which has made possible such magnificent achievements in every principal European country, is one of the greatest handicaps under which we have suffered, and shall suffer. Subventions for purely scholarly undertakings in our field, contributions to the support of learned academies, provision for oriental museums and collections—these are all unheard-of in the budget of the United States Government, for reasons which should surprise no one, nor satisfy everybody. Until recently we have been without important museums or adequate libraries and dependent on the hospitality of Europe, to which a journey was necessary in order to get first-hand material. Now, thanks to the generosity of public-spirited men of wealth and the energy of individual scholars here and there, we are being provided with a part of what was needed, especially in the

great museums of New York and Boston, the Babylonian collections of Yale and the University of Pennsylvania, the oriental manuscripts of Yale, Princeton, Harvard, and Chicago, the Syrian antiquities at Princeton, and many smaller collections. Our library facilities have increased wonderfully, so that a multitude of scientific investigations can now be carried through in this country which could not possibly have been undertaken here only a short time ago. Treasures of oriental art, of the greatest importance, are also waiting to be studied.

But the most important feature of the present outlook for American oriental studies is undoubtedly this, that we are henceforth to be thrown on our own resources to a greater extent than ever before. We have always been very dependent on European scholars and publications, and especially on the Germans, who have supplied us with a large part of our textbooks and technical treatises. Some such dependence was necessary, in view of the meager facilities for publishing in this country and the comparatively small number of our own scholars. It made possible what otherwise would have been beyond our reach, but had of necessity its detrimental influence. We were deprived of the stimulus to production which comes from the necessity of making our own working tools. We needed only to take what was provided, and to give to original research the amount of time proportioned to our taste and opportunity. Something of independent judgment was also sacrificed, inasmuch as we found it possible to do without scientific reviews of our own, which would have been difficult to maintain, and consented to be more or less satisfied with the verdicts pronounced abroad.

The horizon has now been changed, by the war and its inevitable results. It is certain that in the years to come we shall not go on in just the same way as before. Our relations with German scholars and institutions have been interrupted most painfully, and by the time when they can be restored we shall have reached a standing ground new in some important respects. It is true, and we shall do our best to prove it true, that the world of scholars is the very last to admit harsh judgment of any of its members, or to cherish resentment against them; but the ominous fact remains, and cannot be minimized, that an ugly breach has been made and cannot soon be healed.

The interval that must elapse will be for us the unsought occasion of a step forward; it could hardly be otherwise, under the circumstances. Indeed, the first signs of new and important enterprises have already appeared, and others will certainly follow. We shall of course continue to be very largely dependent on European scholarship, using for the most part the same materials and helps that we have used in the past; any other expectation would be short-sighted and foolish, even if it were much more nearly possible of realization than is actually the case. But in the meantime our own work presents itself with a new urgency, and it is now incumbent upon us to make plans and begin to carry them out.

There are tasks requiring the coöperation of several or many scholars which we might very profitably undertake, such as collections of ancient texts and translations, works of lexicography, editions of manuscripts dealing with certain well defined subjects, a series of elementary grammars suited to the needs of our students, and the like. Some plans of this nature, as I have intimated, are already on foot. If the possible number of collaborators seems small—and it undeniably is, we must recollect that the work stirs up workmen, and that every such undertaking will provide a laboratory in which the best of our students can be trained. We should not expect, and perhaps should not desire, any large expansion of oriental studies in the United States; what we should aim at is greater vigor, better quality and more carefully coördinated effort. Any forced and unnatural growth in our field will do more harm than good. We may indeed experience a check, rather than encouragement, at the outset; for, as I said a moment ago, the temper of our compatriots is just now unfavorable to studies which do not seem to be 'practical.' It would not be surprising if the number of teaching positions in the various departments of our science should be decreased, for the time being. It may even be that for a short time the Orient itself will be more closed to us than it has been, and that first-hand material will be harder than ever to obtain. But we may be quite sure that these checks, if they come, will be only temporary.

In thus taking account of stock, on our anniversary, we are hardly likely to forget certain great and pressing needs which must be met in some way before our vision of a new scale of

effort can be fully realized. The most of such definite projects as I have mentioned as typical could be carried to completion with the materials and equipment which we already have at hand. But there are other activities, equally or more important, which we certainly must develop with the least possible delay, for which the means are now lacking, or inadequate, and must be supplied. It is imperative that we should have better facilities for publication, and considerable funds for the purpose. We need more and better fonts of oriental type for our books and journals. The establishment of an *Oriental Review* of the character which I attempted to sketch at the meeting of this Society a year ago is an urgent necessity, perhaps the most urgent of all. We can always count on private generosity when the cause is worthy, and in this case I have no doubt that a well considered effort would succeed. The attempt should certainly be made. Keeping our own standards high will be the surest way of gaining continued support from without. Greater care in awarding the Doctor's degree; greater efforts to keep the few very promising graduate students longer in the university, until they are really—and not merely nominally—prepared to take up creative work for themselves; greater care in recommending men for teaching positions; each endeavor of this kind will be richly repaid, and every case of neglect is a calamity for us all, seeing that we are so few in number.

There are doubtless possibilities of coöperation with oriental work and workers in this country, including both private individuals and public institutions, which we have not yet tried but might profitably investigate. There are many, not members of this Society, who are in close touch with the East, whose active sympathy we might be able to enlist from time to time, in one way and another. There are dealers in antiquities, in New York City and other cities, through whose hands are constantly passing objects of great historic and other scientific interest which are more likely than not to remain for some time to come unknown to any competent orientalist. I have myself several times happened, by the merest chance, to come across valuable inscribed monuments, some of which had already been sold and were in private houses. It might be feasible to form a committee of some sort, to keep watch of the antiquity market in our principal cities and report, preferably to the Editors of our Journal, in

order that at least some record may be kept. Our great museums now send out periodic bulletins announcing their most recent acquisitions. Could not the department entitled 'Brief Notes,' so successfully inaugurated in the *Journal* of our Society, be made to include a gleanings from these bulletins whenever they contain material of special importance to orientalists? We shall do well to keep in closer touch with missionaries in active service in the Orient, when this again becomes possible. We remember with pride the important contributions to science made through the medium of our *Journal* and elsewhere by Eli Smith, Cornelius Van Dyck, Justin Perkins, David Stoddard, Lewis Grout, and others, and the inspiration received from them by the home members of our Society in its early years.

A new proposal looking toward closer coöperation with oriental societies abroad has just been presented to us by the President of the *Société Asiatique*, and will be acted upon at this meeting. It is needless to say that we shall give hearty welcome to every opportunity of joining forces in more effective effort. We can see now more plainly than ever before how desirable is every such approach to a better understanding. Whatever provision we decide to make for the near future, let us conceive in the broadest spirit the idea of a closer union of orientalists, hoping for the day when it may become possible to include in it also those from whom we are now estranged. May the next twenty-five years of the life of this Society bring us to a milestone marking a station of greater usefulness, the world over, for these most cosmopolitan studies, and of even greater achievement on our own part than we have dared to think possible!

THE ETYMOLOGY OF SOME WORDS IN THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS

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AT TWO RECENT MEETINGS of the Society, in 1914 and 1917, I presented brief communications regarding the etymology of some words in the Old Persian Inscriptions. Three of these are grouped together in this paper, to be followed at a later time, it is hoped, by a number of others. The citations thruout refer to the inscriptional line, not the paragraph; I have preferred that method both because it is the more practical and because I remember so well how the line—not the paragraph—came into account as I stood on the ledge of the Bahistān Rock in 1903.

1. Old Persian *amuθa* 'he fled'

The meaning of the word *amuθa* had long been a puzzle for scholars because they had taken the form to be a pronominal adverb, signifying 'there' or 'from there,' until its real meaning was correctly made out in 1902 by Hüsing, *KZ* 38. 258, when he pointed to the fact that it was actually a verb and signified 'he fled.'

Hüsing upheld this interpretation by the support given thru the Elamitic and Babylonian versions of the Old Persian vocable, namely El. *pu-ut-tuk-ka* and Bab. *iḥ-lik-ma*, as shown by their renderings of *amuθa* in Bh. 2. 2, 71; 3. 41-42, 71 (cf. also Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 27, notes *a* and *e*). The translation 'fled' has therefore been generally adopted since. See, for example, Tolman, *Anc. Pers. Lexicon*, p. 119, and *Supplement*, p. 41; King and Thompson, *Behistun*, p. 35, 49, 54; Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 27, 39, 49, 53; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* col. 1884, addenda to col. 147; Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, p. 101, 117.

The etymology of the word, however, has remained altogether doubtful. In 1915, for example, Meillet (*op. cit.* p. 101) said: '*am*'θ, *amuθa*, "il s'est enfui"—qui n'a pas d'étymologie

connue.' An attempt was made by Hüsing (*Zt. für vgl. Sprachforschung*, 47. 169 [1915]) to explain *amuθa* as an s-aorist, **āmṛθ-sa* [sic!] from a presumable OP. root **mard-*. But the arguments which Hüsing advanced seem totally at fault on phonetic grounds, and it is necessary, therefore, to seek some other explanation.

For this word I now offer the following etymology. The OP. form *amuθa* is to be read as originally *amu"θa* 'he fled,' and the root (to be transcribed as OP. *m'u"θ-* or *m"u"θ-*) is to be connected with the Skt. root *munṭh* 'to flee,' which is found in the Dhātupāṭha, 8. 12 (Westergaard, *Radices Linguae Sanscritae*, p. 132); see PWB. *munṭh-*, *munṭhate* (*palāyane*, v. l. *pālāne*, i. e. in the sense of fleeing, retreating, escaping), and cf. likewise Kale, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, appendix, p. 90 (Bombay, 1898), where Kale under *munṭh-* 'to run away, flee' gives also the additional Skt. forms *munṭhate*, *mumunṭhe*, *munṭhitā*, *amunṭhiṣṭa*. As Old Persian (like Avestan) possesses no cerebrals, this etymology seems plausible from the point of view of phonology, as well as from that of signification.

2-3. OP. *aruvastam* . . . *niyasaya*, NRb. 4-5

On the lower and much-defaced inscription upon the Tomb of Darius at Nakš-i Rostam, the text of NRb. 4-5, together with the opening lines as far as those can be deciphered, reads:—

- 1 *baga vazarka Auramazdā hya* [*ad*]ā . . [*ti*(?)]
- 2 *ma*(?) *f* . . . *ma tya vai*[*nataiy utā*] *adā šī*
- 3 *yātim martiyahyā* . . . *t* . . *um ut*
- 4 *ā aruvastam upariy* [*Dāraya*] *vaum xšā*
- 5 *yadiyam niyasaya*¹

The translation (in which the two words for which etymologies are here proposed are spaced out) would run:—

A great god is Auramazdāh, who created . . . which seems (?), and created Peace for man . . . and bestowed the sovereignty upon Darius the King.

¹I have made use of the photographic reproduction of this inscription published by Weissbach, 'Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis,' plate 6, in *Abh. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 29¹, Leipzig, 1911. Some of the characters are quite obscure or obliterated, but all the letters of the last part of the sentence are clear enough for practical purposes.

(a) *aruvastam*.—This word, which apparently occurs again in line 33 and is here translated 'sovereignty,' has long been an etymological problem for scholars. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 201, gives simply a question-mark ('—?—'), without suggesting any meaning or possible derivation. So also Oppert, Spiegel, and Tolman. Foy, *KZ* 37. 534, has merely the memorandum '*ar^uuvastam (?)*' in a list which he gives of a score of examples of Iranian *s* before a consonant (except *r*) = OP. *s*.

On the other hand, as far back as 1846, Rawlinson was on the right track when he said (*JRAS* 10. 313): 'I suspect that the sentence in which these words [*aruvastam . . . niyasaya*] occur contains some interesting allusion to the protective influence that was supposed to be shed by the divinity over the person of the king.' This supposition on Rawlinson's part has been justly noted by Weissbach (*Keilinschriften am Grabe*, p. 39; *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 93), who infers accordingly that *aruvastam* 'bedeutet wahrscheinlich "Majestät"'; but he does not discuss the word further.

An etymological explanation, however, may now be offered. The word *aruvastam* is to be connected, on direct phonological grounds, with Av. *aurvant-*, *aurvat-* 'lordly, princely, sovereign,' Skt. *árvant-*, *árvat-*; it is a neuter noun-formation (*aruvat-ta*) derived from the adjective in question, precisely as Av. *ašavasta-* 'quality of being righteous' is a neuter derivative from *ašavant-*, *ašavat-* 'righteous.' The Iranian law *tt > st* is familiar.

(b) *niyasaya*.—This verb form has been likewise somewhat of a crux. Years ago Lassen (*ZKM* 6. 121) suggested deriving it from Skt. *śī*, and translated thus '*nijaçaja*, "legte."' To this proposal Benfey objected (*Die persischen Keilinschriften*, p. 61, Leipzig, 1847); it was still accepted, however, in 1911 by Weissbach (*Keilinschriften am Grabe*, p. 39; *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 93). But the fact that we should expect *θ* instead of *s*, and the real lack of support for *śī* with the prefix *nī*, together with the general use of *aśayat* as intransitive in Sanskrit, combined with the fact that—if causative—the Skt. *śāyayati* would lead one to expect a long *ā* in the OP. radical, would render the attempted comparison with the Skt. root *śī* very uncertain.

For that reason I suggested, at the meeting in Boston, April 17, 1914, that the OP. verb was connected with Skt. *yam*,

yaccha + *ni* in the sense of 'bestow, confer' (cf. *PWb.* s. v. 5, 'dauernd verleihen'). For the usage we may compare RV. 4. 50. 10, *asmé rayīm sárvaṽīraṁ ní yacchatam*, and also RV. 7. 82. 8, besides other examples. The OP. form *niyasaya* (*niya-saya*^t) would thus be an *aya*-formation based on the present stem *yasa-*, which is well attested both in Old Persian and in Avestan. Yet again—to explain the special verbal formation—as the OP. preterit consistently employs the *a*-augment, *niyasaya*^t would stand for **niyayasaya*^t, or, in other terms, because of the common Iranian avoidance of a repeated syllable (especially here to reduce *yaya..ya*), thru haplology for *niya-[ya]asaya*^t. Thus the passage means 'he bestowed the sovereignty upon Darius.'

[Since the presentation to the Society of this communication, which has hitherto remained unpublished, there has appeared (1915) Meillet's *Grammaire du vieux perse*, in which (p. 104) he similarly takes *niyasaya* as apparently a causative made secondarily on the stem of the present *yasa-*; and in this he is directly followed (1917) by Johnson, *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language*, § 478 b. Yet, even tho neither of the two scholars has touched upon the question of the augment in the case of the verb in point, I am glad now to have such weight of authority to support the etymology here suggested for *niyasaya*. I hope that the etymology suggested above for *aruvastam* may find the same support.]

THE TENT OF MEETING

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SOME YEARS AGO, in a monograph entitled 'Biblical Theophanies',¹ I advanced the hypothesis, and supported it with to me seemingly incontrovertible proof, that Ex. 33.12-34.28 and Num. 10.29-32 contain the oldest document of the Hexateuch. Because of its manifest parallelism with the laws and narrative contained in Ex. 20.23-24.8 I have called this the Little Book of the Covenant, and labelled it C2.²

That was merely a first, provisional attempt to separate this ancient writing from its present Jahwistic setting. From the outset it was clear that Ex. 34.1-5 were from J, and altogether out of accord with the more ancient narrative. Likewise, vv. 6-9 have been considerably amplified by the Jahwistic editors who incorporated the ancient writing into the J code. Furthermore, vv. 10-26, consisting for the most part of the so-called 'Ten Commandments', have been considerably expanded by hortatory, Deuteronomic additions. What I did not realize at the time was that Ex. 33.12-23, the main narrative portion, contains considerable secondary matter, the work of the Jahwistic editors. This secondary, Jahwistic matter is characterized by repeated reference to Jahwe knowing Moses by name, and Moses having found favor in Jahwe's sight, and by Moses daring to seek to induce Jahwe to alter His purposes. This exaltation of Moses is characteristic of the secondary stratum of J.³

Accordingly in Ex. 33, vv. 12b, 13, 15-17 and 19b as well as 34.9 belong to this secondary J source. With these verses

¹ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 25. 139-193; 28. 15-60.

² The Larger Book of the Covenant, contained in Ex. 20. 23-24. 8, I have labelled C1. Actually, since the Little Book of the Covenant is the older, and the other is clearly dependent upon it in part, it would have been more logical to call the older writing C1 and the younger C2. But since scholars had long before applied the term 'Book of the Covenant' to Ex. 20. 23-24. 8 (although not within these exact limits), I naturally applied the label C1 to this younger writing and C2 to the older.

³ Cf. Ex. 32. 11-14, 31 f.; Num. 14. 13-25, and the picture of the veiled Moses with the shining face, upon which no man can gaze, Ex. 34. 29-35.

removed, the unity of the story becomes immediately apparent. Time does not permit consideration of all details here. I must therefore refer to my earlier monograph. There I have shown, among other things, that in the remaining verses פנים is used in a two-fold sense. When, in 33.14, Jahwe answers Moses' complaint that He had bidden him lead the people away from the mountain without telling whom He would send with him to lead the people further, 'My פנים shall go, and I shall let thee rest', He means Hobab ben Reuel, Moses' brother-in-law, apparently the priest and mediator between Jahwe and the Kenites, His original worshipers. Here פנים is manifestly a technical term for 'representative', 'priest'. But Moses misunderstands this technical meaning of פנים, and interprets it literally as Jahwe's face. So he asks naively, 'Let me see Thy face'. But the prompt answer is, 'Thou canst not see My face, for no man can see My face and live'. Nevertheless Jahwe will grant as much of Moses' request as possible. He will place Moses in the cave upon the mountain top,⁴ and will pass before him and will call out His true name. The obvious implication is that this true name was as yet unknown. He will also cover the mouth of the cave with His hand as He passes, and will then remove His hand, so that Moses may look upon His back, even while His face remains invisible. Instead of the present text of 19a, אני אעביר כל טובי על פניך וקראתי בשם יהוה לפניך, LXX seems to have read, אני אעבר בכבד'י על פניך וקראתי, בשמי יהוה לפניך. A moment's thought, however, shows that even this can not have been the original reading, but is the result of late, theological attempts to avoid the too bold anthropomorphisms of the original, and also to harmonize this account of the revelation of the divine name with the preceding Elohistie and Priestly accounts in Ex. 3.14 f. and 6.2. For 18 LXX clearly read הראני נא את עצמך, or, more likely, הראני נא את פניך. Here, too, כבוד was inserted to reduce the anthropomorphism. The same is true of the כעבר כבד'י of 22a, as is proved by the simple and direct עברי of 22b and יהוה ויעבר'י of 34.6. Finally, 20 must have preceded 19.

The original narrative of C2 must therefore have read simply, ויאמר משה אל יהוה ראה אתה אמר אלי העל את העם הזה

⁴ For this translation of נסרת הצור cf. Is. 2. 19 and 21.

ואתה לא הודעתני את אשר תשלח עמי: ויאמר פני ילכו והנחתני לך: ויאמר הראני נא את פניך: ויאמר לא תוכל לראת את פני כי לא יראני האדם וחי: ויאמר אני אעבר על פניך וכראתי בשמי לפניך: (ו'יאמר יהוה) הנה מכוס אתי ונצבת על הצור: והיה בעברי ושמתוך בנקרת הצור ושכתי כפי עליוך עד עברי: והסירתי את כפי וראית את אחרי ופני לא יראו:

The narrative must have told then of Moses taking his place in the mouth of the cave as he had been commanded. Thereupon followed the statement of 34.6, ויעבר יהוה על פניו ויקרא יהוה. Here the second יהוה is the object of ויקרא. The story continued with the account of a further concession by Jahwe. Not only has He allowed Moses to see His back and to learn His true name, but He will also make a covenant with Moses and Israel upon the basis of a little code of laws, the so-called 'Ten Commandments', which He now reveals. Moses writes these down at Jahwe's bidding upon two tablets of stone, and brings them to the people. The narrative must have told further, just as does the parallel narrative of C1 in Ex. 24.3-8, of the people's acceptance of these laws, and of the solemn ratification of the covenant between Jahwe and the people. It concluded with Moses' request of Hobab ben Reuel, the true פנים of Jahwe, to lead them onward from this mountain. Hobab at first refused, but was ultimately persuaded. So he and his people, the Kenites, journeyed on with Israel, and at last they came to the Promised Land (Jud. 1.16; 4.11); and be it remarked in passing, the manifest implication is that they entered the country from the south.

This little document is manifestly older than J, and older also than C1. We shall see that it probably antedated Elijah by about a generation. The work is clearly prophetic in character and purpose, the product of an early, prophetic attempt to define the fundamental principles and institutions of the religion of Israel. The dominantly pastoral character of the rites enjoined in the ten laws, even despite the recognition of the three agricultural festivals and of the Sabbath, as well as the pointed association of the narrative with the Kenites, and the fact that the writing was incorporated into J, all argue a southern origin for this booklet. Undoubtedly the later, prophetic, Deuteronomic code and covenant in 621 B. C. were modelled upon this

earlier code and covenant story. And just as the Deuteronomic Code and covenant were designed to pave the way for a practical and far-reaching reformation of religious belief and practice, so also, in all likelihood, this older, prophetic record of a religious code and covenant.

I infer therefore, that this little booklet constituted the basis of the reforms attributed to Asa (1 Ki. 15.11-15; 2 Chron. 14.1-3; 15). Reading between the lines, it is apparent that there were two parties in the southern kingdom when Asa ascended the throne, the party of foreign culture and religious influence, headed apparently by the queen-mother, and consisting, in all likelihood, of the nobles and the wealthy, commercial class, and the prophetic party, seemingly the party of the masses of Jerusalem and of the rural, pastoral population. These sought to purge the state religion, centering in the Temple at Jerusalem, of all seemingly non-Jahwistic elements, particularly, in this instance, of the use of images and idols. The fundamental principles of this reform, stated in the first two of the ten laws of the code, the only two really negative laws in the code, were **אלהי מסכה לא** and **לא תשתחוה לאל אחר**. **תעשה לך**. Asa cast in his lot with the prophetic party. Not inconceivably, he may have been influenced, as was Josiah, almost three centuries later, by the representation that this law code came from Moses. With his support the reformation succeeded. Both 1 Ki. 15.9-13 and 2 Chron. 14.1-3 and 15.16 tell that the queen-mother was deposed, and that the image which she had set up in the Temple, and all other images, were destroyed. 2 Chron. 15 tells likewise that these reforms were due to prophetic activity and influence, under the leadership of a certain Azariah ben Oded, while v. 12 states explicitly that the entire people entered into a solemn covenant with Jahwe. A specific covenant such as this unquestionably implies a definite basis in an actual code of laws. V. 10 states that this covenant was solemnized in the third month, presumably on the festival of first-fruits, in the fifteenth year of Asa. If this date may be accepted, and just here the account of Chronicles seems fuller than that of Kings and more in accord with all the details of the C2 narrative of the covenant between Jahwe and the people, this would fix the date of the composition and promulgation of

C2 as 899 B. C., and make it, as we have claimed, the oldest document of the Hexateuch.

The antiquity of C2 is likewise attested by the primitive nature of its contents, and particularly of its God-conception. Jahwe is represented as having human shape, with face, back, hands, voice and name. Apparently He is of gigantic size, for with His hand He covers the mouth of the cave.⁵ He dwells upon the mountain. There there is a sacred cave, spoken of at its very first mention as נִקְרֶת הַצֹּר, *the cave of the mountain*. However, Jahwe does not dwell in this cave, but moves to and fro in the open space before it. The cave itself serves a different purpose. In it the worshiper who seeks a divine revelation stands. At the entrance to the cave is the meeting-place with Jahwe. The worshiper stands just within the mouth of the cave, and Jahwe passes by just without, and calls out His name and message as He passes. The person of Jahwe is sacrosanct. Upon His face no mortal, not even Moses, may look. The eyes of the worshiper must be covered, and only after Jahwe has passed may the covering be removed and Jahwe's back be seen.

That we have not read into this ancient narrative more than is actually implied there, is proved by an analysis of 1 Ki. 19.1-14. Elijah's life is threatened. In distress, and in the saddening conviction that his labors have been fruitless, he seeks out his God in His own dwelling-place, not in the Temple at Jerusalem, but, in accordance with the ancient, pastoral and prophetic conception, on the mountain far out in the desert, where, he clearly believed, his God still dwelt. He spends the night in the cave on the mountain. Here, too, at the very first mention, and without further qualification, this cave is designated by the article, הַמְעֵרָה, *the cave*. Towards morning, presumably, the word comes to him to stand at the entrance of the cave. And there Jahwe passes before him, attended by the whirlwind, the earthquake and the fire. But Jahwe is in none of these. Then Elijah hears a still, small voice, and he hides his face in his mantle. Why? Contrary to popular opinion, we have not to do here with an unanthropomorphic, purely spiritual conception

⁵ Similarly Yaqut tells in the *Mu'gam* (2. 100) of a god in the Hadhramaut, called Al Galsad, who was a gigantic man (cited from Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 134); but cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 53-56.

of the Deity, represented only by a still, small voice. If so, why the local setting of the mountain abode of the Deity and the sacred cave? And why must Elijah cover his face before the voice? No, clearly the prophet recognizes this as the voice of Jahwe approaching; and that he might not court death by presuming to gaze upon Jahwe's countenance, he covers his face, while Jahwe passes by in the open space before the cave. And there, at the mouth of the cave, the eagerly sought revelation comes to him.

A moment's consideration shows that the backgrounds of the two stories are identically the same. There are the same mountain in the wilderness, the dwelling-place of Jahwe, the same well-known, sacred cave on the top of the mountain, in which the expectant worshiper stands with eyes covered, that he might not behold Jahwe's face, the same open space before the cave, in which Jahwe passes by and utters his divine word.⁶ The Elijah story adds the incident of the whirlwind, the earthquake and the fire, implying thereby that Jahwe controlled these forces of nature. But this expansion may be due to the fact that this incident in Elijah's life, the historicity of which there is no reason to doubt, happened some thirty or more years after C2 was written; and these thirty years, particularly in the northern kingdom, were years of change and expansion of social, economic, and, above all, religious thought and concept, by which not even an Elijah could remain altogether uninfluenced. Furthermore, the incident was not recorded even in its original literary form⁷ until at least a half century after Elijah's death. This expansion may be due entirely to the literary or theological inclinations of the authors of the present form of the story. At any rate it does not affect the story proper, nor weaken in any way the complete corroboration which it offers, of our interpretation of the narrative of C2.

Lack of time forbids detailed consideration of the manifold and far-reaching import of C2 for the early religious, economic

⁶ Jewish tradition, too, has identified the cave of Elijah with that of Moses, and told that this cave was one of the ten things created by God at twilight of the sixth day. Cf. Ginsburg, *Legends of the Jews*, 1. 83.

⁷ That the original account has been reworked by later hands, is clear from the numerous repetitions in vv. 9b-11a; cf. Benzinger, 106 ff., Kittel, 152.

and political history of Israel. That must be reserved for treatment elsewhere. In this particular investigation I wish only to emphasize the fact that both C2 and the Elijah story speak of *the* cave as well-known and requiring no further explanation nor designation other than that furnished by the article, *המערה*, and the definite construct state, *נִכְרַת הַצֹּר*; that, furthermore, this cave is not the dwelling-place of Jahwe, but is merely the place in which the worshiper remains while awaiting a revelation, a characteristic form of incubation; that, furthermore, during the act of revelation he stands at the entrance of the cave, while Jahwe passes by just in front of him, in the open space before the mouth of the cave.

Ex. 33.7-11, the verses immediately preceding the beginning of the C2 narrative give an account of the tabernacle in the wilderness. Moses used to take the tabernacle, or, more correctly, the 'tent of meeting', and set it up outside the camp and some distance removed. Whoever would commune directly with Jahwe would go out to this tent of meeting. Whenever Moses himself would go thither, all the people would stand at their tent-doors and watch. And when Moses would enter the tent of meeting, the pillar of cloud would descend to the door and speak with Moses. And all the people, seeing the pillar of cloud at the door of the tent of meeting, would prostrate themselves. And Jahwe would speak to Moses face to face, just as one man speaks to another. Then Moses would return to the camp. But his attendant and apprentice, the lad Joshua, would never leave the tent of meeting.

Obviously this account of the procedure with the tent of meeting cannot be a part of C2, which follows immediately. That knows nothing of such a tent as the place of revelation, but only of the sacred cave on the top of the mountain in the desert. On this mountain Jahwe dwells, apparently in human shape. Here, however, Jahwe dwells somewhere above, whence He descends, not in human form, however, but in the pillar of cloud. And here Moses speaks to Him face to face, while in C2 he cannot look upon Jahwe's face and live.

With unanimity most surprising in view of the scanty evidence, Biblical scholars have assigned these verses and all related references to the tent of meeting outside the camp (Num. 11.16

ff.; 12.4) to the Elohist document. But, as I believe I have shown conclusively in my previously mentioned monograph, this passage must be the work of J. The Elohist tells consistently that Israel was led through the desert, not by the Deity Himself, but only by the מלאך אלהים, the angel of God, in whom God's name was (Ex. 23.20 ff.; cf. 32.34; 33.2, 5), that God revealed Himself to Israel in thick darkness (Ex. 20.18-21), and that the people dared not look upon His face lest they die (ib. 19). Furthermore, in the Elohist narrative, Joshua is no longer a boy and the apprentice of Moses, but a full-grown man and warrior, leading the hosts of Israel against the Amalekites (Ex. 17.9 ff.). Likewise Ex. 18 gives the Elohist account of the institution by Moses of judges and officers, and is the Elohist parallel of the Jahwistic version of the institution by Moses of the seventy elders as judges in Num. 11.16 ff. In this latter story the tent of meeting outside the camp is the place where the seventy elders are selected and ordained. Here, too, the lad Joshua is the apprentice of Moses in the tent of meeting.

In significant contrast to the Elohist narrative and theology, the Jahwistic writers told that Israel was led through the wilderness by Jahwe Himself, in the form of the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night (Ex. 13.21 f.); furthermore, that Moses stood upon the most intimate terms with Jahwe, beheld Him constantly, and even, according to J2, ventured frequently to expostulate with Him. Another significant difference between the Jahwistic and Elohist conceptions of the Deity and the manner of His worship, will become clear shortly, and will confirm the distinction we have drawn. There can be no further question, that, despite the practical unanimity of Biblical scholars in assigning Ex. 33.7-11 to E, it is nevertheless the work of J, and the product of the southern kingdom. This, too, may explain, or even be further borne out by the fact that these verses stand in immediate proximity to C2, likewise the product of the southern kingdom, and incorporated by secondary J writers into the J code.

Now it is significant that this tent of meeting outside of the camp is never represented as the place of sacrifice, but only as the place where Jahwe meets with Moses or with Israel and reveals His divine will. Apparently sacrifices might be offered

in any suitable place. Apparently, too, in the simple desert cult, the role of sacrifices, while undoubtedly important, was nevertheless secondary rather than primary. Just this is stated explicitly by both Amos (5.25) and Jeremiah (7.22). The only sacrifices of unmistakably desert origin mentioned in C2 are those of firstlings and firstborn (Ex. 34.19 f.) and the annual Passover sacrifice (ib. 25). Seemingly the enlargement of the role of sacrifices in Israelite religious practice was due in the main to the influence of Canaanite agricultural religion, with its frequent, annual festivals, numerous occasions for sacrifice, many fixed and well equipped altars and shrines and elaborate priesthood. In the desert, it is well-known, animals were and are killed, even for sacrifice, only very rarely. Moreover, the Arabic *Kāhin*, priest, related to the Hebrew כֹהֵן, was primarily a diviner.⁸

At any rate, even though the references of the J code to the tent of meeting without the camp be comparatively few, they suffice to indicate that sacrifices were not offered there at all, but that it was only the place for communing directly with Jahwe, receiving the oracle and ascertaining the divine will. In fact just this is implied by the statement of Ex. 33.7, that whoever wished to seek Jahwe, would do so at the tent of meeting, and by the additional statement that Moses would go out thither, not to offer sacrifice, but to meet and converse with Jahwe. It is clear, too, why Joshua remained constantly in the tent of meeting. Divine will is supreme, and cannot always be anticipated. Whenever Jahwe should choose to speak and to utter His oracle, some one, duly qualified, must be present to receive it. 1 Sam. 3 furnishes a similar picture of the lad, Samuel, the apprentice of Eli, remaining constantly in the sanctuary to receive the oracle, whenever uttered.

Now it is significant that the actual meeting-place of Jahwe with Moses was not within the tent, but at the tent-door. There Jahwe would descend in the pillar of cloud, and speak with Moses. It is noteworthy, too, that in the oldest stratum of the Priestly code, the tabernacle is still called the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, the tent of meeting, because there Jahwe meets with Israel; and the

⁸ Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*², 134.

meeting-place is still the door of the tent, and not yet the holy of holies (Ex. 29.42). Jahwe descends from on high; clearly, therefore, He does not dwell in the tent. It is merely the tent of meeting, the **אהל מועד**, and not yet the dwelling-place, the **משכן**. That conception is the product of a later age and theology.

Returning to Ex. 33.7-11, we can easily picture the scene. Moses stands within the door of the tent of meeting, and Jahwe, in the pillar of cloud, stands without, just before the door. Obviously the conception of this tent of meeting, not the dwelling-place of Jahwe, but the place of revelation, is based directly upon the older picture of the sacred cave upon the top of the mountain in C2 and in the Elijah story. There, too, the worshiper stands inside the entrance to the cave, and Jahwe passes by in the open space in front. Further corroboration of this conclusion will be forthcoming.

Here the question is naturally suggested, what was the relation between this tent of meeting, the place of the oracle, and the ark? According to tradition, and to this practically all modern Biblical scholars subscribe unreservedly, the ark was deposited within the tent of meeting. This tradition is based chiefly upon the account of the tabernacle and its contents in the Priestly code, upon the picture in 1 Samuel of the sanctuary at Shiloh with the ark as the main cult object, and upon the picture of the tabernacle set up at Jerusalem by David to receive and house the ark (2 Sam. 6). All these pictures are, however, the products of religious syncretism in Israel, which culminated in the evolution of a national religion out of the earlier, independent, tribal cults. Originally the tent of meeting and the ark could have had absolutely no relation. For, regardless of the divergence of opinion of modern scholars, as to whether the ark originally contained a sacred stone, a betyl, or even two such sacred stones, or whether it was an empty throne of a deity, this much is certain, that the ark itself was the deity, or contained the deity, or symbolized the actual presence of the deity there, at the spot where the ark stood. The presence of the ark then within a tent or building of any kind implied that the deity of the ark was actually resident within that place. This is the implication of every passage of the Bible, where the ark is repre-

sented as deposited within a tent, a house or a sanctuary.⁹ This conception is particularly graphic in the final picture of the Priestly code, where the ark is deposited within the holy of holies, and Jahwe takes up His permanent residence there, upon the mercy-seat above the ark, and there, now, meets with Israel, through its representative, the high-priest, once each year, on the Day of Atonement (Ex. 29.45 f.; 40.34 ff.; Lev. 16).

But since the tent of meeting, as originally conceived, was in no sense the dwelling-place of Jahwe; since only the priest of the oracle entered within it, and Jahwe would only descend and meet with the priest at the door of the tent, and impliedly Himself never entered therein, it follows that the tent of meeting and the ark represent absolutely contradictory, unharmonizable, and totally unrelated concepts. Certainly the ark was originally the palladium of the tribe of Ephraim, and due to the eventual ascendancy of this tribe over the northern, agricultural tribes of Israel, it became finally the palladium of all the northern tribes.

The tent of meeting, on the other hand, was manifestly patterned after the sacred cave on the top of the mountain, mentioned in C2, the document in which the Kenites play so conspicuous a role. The Kenites in turn were intimately related to the southern tribes, and eventually came to be regarded as

⁹ With the possible single exception of 1 Sam. 3. There vv. 4 and 10, particularly as emended according to LXX, imply that Jahwe comes, presumably from some remote place, to speak with Samuel. This conception accords but poorly with the statement of v. 3, that the ark was in the room. Possibly these words are a harmonistic gloss. As has been already remarked, the picture here of the lad Samuel, the apprentice of Eli, remaining constantly in the sanctuary to receive the oracle, whenever it might be uttered, parallels that of the lad Joshua, Moses' apprentice, also constantly in the tent of meeting. Furthermore, this picture of Samuel as the apprentice of Eli, impliedly therefore in training to become Eli's successor, contradicts the picture of Eli's two sons, who represent their father in the undoubtedly older tradition of 1 Sam. 2. 12 ff., and are naturally regarded as the normal successors of their father. 4. 4 and 19 ff. depict Hophni and Phineas as primarily priests of the ark. Furthermore 1 Sam. 4-6, the chapters which give the most graphic picture of the ark as the palladium of Ephraim, are absolutely silent as to Samuel. This may well indicate that Samuel had primarily no connection at all with the ark, but was from the beginning conceived of as the future priest, still in training, of the oracle of a sanctuary, modelled by the J authors of 1 Sam. 3. 1-19 after their picture of the tent of meeting.

an integral part of Judah, even although at least one of their clans, the Rechabites (1 Chron. 2.55), maintained uncompromisingly its nomad mode of living throughout the entire period of the kingdom. That they exerted a powerful, determining influence upon the prophetic movement is evidenced, not only by this little booklet, C2, and the dependent work, C1, but also by the stories of the relations of Elisha and Jeremiah with the Rechabites (1 Ki. 10.15 ff.; Jer. 35). Furthermore, the tent of meeting plays a role in the J document parallel to the role of the ark in the E document.

We must conclude, therefore, that in the early tribal days before David and before the evolution of a syncretistic national religion, the tent of meeting had been the palladium or cult object, or at least the nearest approach thereto, among the southern tribes. It was not a cult object in the strict sense of the word, for a cult object possesses a direct sanctity, either as the deity himself, or as containing the deity, or as the immediate symbol of the deity, and therefore is itself an object of worship. But this the tent of meeting was not. It was sacred only because of its use, because it was the place where Jahwe would descend and meet with His people or His priest and reveal His will. That deities, conceived of as actually dwelling upon a distant mountain, were none the less thought able to come to the aid of their distant people, is proved by Jud. 5.4 f. and Deut. 33.2. The tent of meeting was the visible symbol that, wherever the tribes might be, Jahwe could come to them, whether only to reveal His will, or to protect them and lead them through the desert. Nevertheless He still continued to dwell upon His desert mountain. And there, although Israel had long since established itself in Canaan, and probably within the more advanced and cultured circles, so-called, Jahwe was thought to have taken up His residence in the Temple at Jerusalem, Elijah, animated by ancient shepherd ideas, brought from his old home to the east of the Jordan, shepherd ideas closely akin to those of the pastoral southern tribes, still sought out Jahwe.

Manifestly, too, this very institution of the tent of meeting, with its implication that no matter where they might be, Jahwe could always come in person to answer His people's call, precluded the idea of idols or cult objects of any kind. There was

no need to symbolize Jahwe's presence, or to represent Him in concrete, tangible form, when He could always be summoned, or else came of His own accord when needed. The very conception of the tent of meeting made the use of idols and cult objects illogical and impossible among the southern tribes. On the other hand, all the northern tribes seem to have employed idols and cult objects regularly in their worship. That, in the syncretistic national religion, despite the preponderance of the numbers, wealth and superior culture of the northern, agricultural tribes, the principle became firmly established that Jahwe should be represented by no image nor cult object, must have been due entirely to the dominating influence of the southern tribes under David at the time when the Philistine yoke was thrown off and the united nation came into existence. This principle was constantly reinforced by the prophets and prophetic codes, as witness C2 (Ex. 34.17), C1 (Ex. 20.23) and Deuteronomy. Images or cult objects in the religious practice of the nation, or of the southern tribes or kingdom, were always the result of non-Jahwistic influences, and were regarded by the southern prophets as altogether discordant with the true worship of Jahwe. This was a part of the great contribution of the southern tribes to the religion of Israel and of the world.

With the establishment of the united kingdom by David, a conscious policy of religious syncretism was inaugurated. The old conception of separate tribal gods had finally given way to the new conception of Jahwe as the national god, the god of the entire nation. This conception, fostered by many and various influences, had been evolving slowly but surely since the entrance of the tribes into Canaan. Now that it had at last become a conscious reality, it required some definite, concrete expression. Accordingly David planned a new national sanctuary at his new capital, and actually erected a tabernacle there as a temporary shrine. Into this he brought, with considerable pains and with all due honor, the ark, the ancient palladium of Ephraim and the northern tribes, which had been lying for a half century or more, apparently half forgotten, at Kiriath-yearim. Undoubtedly he deposited likewise in this temporary national sanctuary, the ephod, the ancient cult-object of Benjamin, which Ebiathar had brought with him when he escaped from Nob, and which had

served David so well in his early years as an instrument of divination. Not impossibly he deposited also within this national sanctuary whatever other ancient tribal idols and cult objects he could lay his hands upon. In all likelihood, the brazen serpent, accorded divine worship until the days of Hezekiah, and therefore destroyed by him (2 Ki. 18.4), was originally a tribal cult object, which had found its way into the national sanctuary in the days of David.

The purpose of the great king is self-evident. By thus installing as many as possible of the ancient tribal cult objects in the new national sanctuary, he sought to express concretely to the minds of all the tribesmen, that their old tribal gods were all summed up in this new national god; that actually he was no new god, who had supplanted their old gods, but that in reality all the old, tribal gods were contained in him, and he was a kind of composite picture of them all. In other words, the new, national sanctuary was a kind of tribal Pantheon.

Whether the original tent of meeting was included among the sacred objects deposited in the national sanctuary cannot be determined with certainty. Actually 1 Ki. 8.4 tells that in the Temple of Solomon there was deposited with solemn ceremony, not only the ark, but also the tent of meeting, and all the sacred objects. If the passage may be relied upon, it is, of course, conclusive. Probably, however, we must agree with the majority of Biblical scholars, that the historical accuracy of the verse should not be insisted upon too strongly.¹⁰ However, the verse manifestly implies a clear-cut distinction between the original 'tent of meeting' and the other, totally unrelated tent, which was merely the matter-of-fact house of the ark.

Naturally, however, the national religion, with its fundamental and deep-rooted opposition to idols and cult objects, could not long countenance the presence of cult objects *per se* in the national sanctuary. Eventually the ark ceased to be an object of veneration in itself, and came to be regarded as sacred only because tradition had reinterpreted it as the receptacle of the two tablets of the Decalogue, and, in the Priestly code, as

¹⁰ In his commentary to this verse David Kimchi says that Solomon brought up the ark from David's temporary sanctuary on Zion, but the tent of meeting from Gibeon, where it had stood all these years. Of course by the tent of meeting he meant the tabernacle of the Priestly code.

the seat or throne of Jahwe. Tradition sought also to reinterpret the old brazen serpent, by representing it as having been made by Moses to relieve a plague of serpents in the desert. But here, apparently, tradition did not succeed in its purpose. The people persisted in according the brazen serpent divine honors, and so it had ultimately to be destroyed. Similarly the old tent of meeting was naturally, and apparently quite speedily transformed into a tent or tabernacle, within which the Deity actually dwelt. This evolution was fostered by the fact that the ark, which, in the syncretistic national cult, came early to be regarded as the most sacred object in the national sanctuary, had actually in the olden days of Shiloh, and also during the campaigns of David (2 Sam. 11.11), been deposited within a tent. With this ancient tabernacle of the ark the equally ancient and originally totally unrelated tent of meeting came naturally to be identified. From now on 'the tent of meeting', אהל מועד, designated the sacred tabernacle or shrine in which the ark was deposited, and in which also the Deity was thought to dwell.

However, the original nature and meaning of the tent of meeting were not completely forgotten. Apparently the דביר of Solomon's Temple and the holy of holies of the tabernacle of the Priestly code actually symbolized the ancient sacred cave, with, however, the added syncretistic idea that this cave was the abode of the Deity, rather than only the place of the revelation of his divine will. Similar sacred chambers seem to have been regular and integral parts of the great shrines of the western Semites, as is, in fact, implied by the consideration that Solomon's temple was patterned after Phoenician models. From the Phoenicians the idea seems to have passed to the Greeks, among whom the μέγαρον, etymologically a Hellenization of the Semitic מערה, was the sacred, oracular cave chamber of the large Greek sanctuaries.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 2. 332-337. That the tent of meeting could originally have had no connection with the *parakkê*, the cells or chambers of the Babylonian pyramid temples, in which a deity was thought to have taken up either temporary or permanent abode, or with sacred tents in other Semitic cults in which a deity was thought to dwell, is self-apparent. Those structures belong rather to the class of the tent in which the ark or some similar cult object, that symbolized the presence of the deity, stood.

BRIEF NOTES

A Babylonian representation of a jumping mouse

THE STUDY of old-Egyptian zoology is easier than that of the old-Babylonian. The many pictures and the colored hieroglyphics show a large number of species and give evidence of the ability of the Egyptians for morphological observation. Babylonia has but few representations of animals left. The Babylonian demonology created mixed forms of animal and human parts, and the tendency to represent supernatural beings led to unnatural pictures. These designs prevail and cause the impression of a lack of morphological ability in the Babylonian art.

Real zoological specimens are rare and it is a misfortune when they are lost. This is what has happened to one which was pointed out to me in the Metropolitan Museum and which has since disappeared. It was made from dark green slate, somewhat flat, and pierced through the middle at the greatest width. It was to be worn on a string suspended about the neck. One side was almost plain and showed engraved animals, as is common on old seal cylinders. I judged it to be an amulet imitating a seal. But the other sides of the object showed the configuration of an animal about to jump. I immediately recognized (not a kangaroo, as was suggested to me but) the desert jumping mouse (*Dipus Aegyptiacus*). The tail and the ears had almost gone. The tibia of the jumping mouse is twice the length of the femur, exactly as in this piece. The paws and toes were also characteristic of the jumping mouse. The lost specimen showed a very good perception on the part of the Babylonian artist for characteristic zoological details and the ability to present those details in simple form. The jumping mouse is found on the borders of the Babylonian desert, and is eaten by the rustics. It is mentioned in Isaiah 66.17 along with the prohibited pig.

FELIX VON OEFELE

New York

A Jewish mortuary amulet

AN ANTIQUITY DEALER in New York has put in my hands for decipherment a charm similar to those which I treated in this

JOURNAL, vol. 31, 272 ff. It is a strip of silver foil, 4 x 2 inches, with the inscription running with the length. In this narrow strip there are nineteen lines, with correspondingly minute characters, the reading of which is often best made out from the reverse side. A considerable portion of the legend is legible, but consists mostly of stock phrases of adjuration, names of angels (e. g. Barakiel, Pumiël, Shamshiel, Hehîel, Kanathiel), divine names, and kabbalistic letters. It is not worth while to repeat the broken and trite passages that can be deciphered. That it is a mortuary charm appears from the phrase יחיס שנרא 'may he spare the corpse'. The name of the beneficiary is not legible. Towards the end may be read: בריך .תה בן בריאל 'Blessed is X son of Badiel'. The latter name is found in the Bible and also, as בר'י, in the Samaritan ostraka. There is one repeated phrase on which some scholar may throw some light: 'Depart (to the Evil Spirit) מן מיגרה ונאוין.' For further specimens of this kind reference may be made to a charm from Amwas published by H. Vincent in *Revue biblique*, 1908, 382, and another from Aleppo published by M. Schwab in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 10, 7. 5 (1906).

J. A. MONTGOMERY

University of Pennsylvania

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

AT THE LAST SESSION of the annual meeting of the Society in New Haven, April 4th, 1918, President Hadley of Yale University made an address of welcome, which we are glad to be able to reprint in full from the columns of the *Yale Daily News* of April 5th.

I regret very greatly that my absence at Camp Devens during the last two days makes the address of welcome come at the end of the proceedings instead of at the beginning. But I am glad that I have not wholly lost the chance to speak; for I want to tell you something of what the Oriental Society means to me personally and of what it has meant to the scholarship of the country.

I grew up in the midst of Oriental Society meetings. My father was President of the Society at the time of his death; his closest friend, William Dwight Whitney, was the man who did more than any one else for its development into a position of influence. Many were the discussions of the affairs of the Orient and of the affairs of the Society to which during my early days I listened with more awe than understanding. The visiting members of the Society, when they ceased talking of the Orient and came down to the doings of common life, were the most delightful of guests; and their meetings did more than we can to-day readily understand to widen America's ideas of history and of scholarship.

For the intellectual interests of America one hundred years ago, even in the scholarly class, were rather narrow. Hebrew and Greek and Latin—the Hebrew needed for elementary exegesis of the Old Testament, and the Greek and Latin comprised within a relatively small number of textbooks—constituted the stock in trade of the average teacher. Of the average scholar we may say, in the words of Stephen Leacock (I quote from memory), "After six years' study I was able to take a page of Greek or Latin, tell at a glance which it was, and after four hours' work with a dictionary turn it into some sort of English."

To the scholars of that generation the work of the American Oriental Society meant a widening of the mental horizon. Their history was no longer bounded by the year B.C. 4004, which stands at the margin of the beginning of the first chapter of Genesis in the Authorized Version. Their geography extended itself to the lands beyond Jordan. Their linguistic study became in a large and true sense comparative and scientific in its methods. Perhaps the scholars of that day traced Oriental connections where none existed. Perhaps

they overestimated the importance of the study of Sanskrit for the understanding of Latin and Greek. But whatever their mistakes may have been, the work of the Oriental Society was for America the germinative spot of history and religion and of philology itself. The American Philological Association is literally the outgrowth of the American Oriental Society.

Perhaps I do not need to say words like these to members of your body. You know these things already. But in behalf of American scholars I am glad to say that this indebtedness is realized, and in behalf of the University I am glad to acknowledge our indebtedness to your Society, and proud to have had so large a part in its development.

THE PROCEEDINGS of the Annual Meeting will appear in Part 3.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

AT A MEETING of the Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem held at Yale University on April 3, the resignation of Dr. C. C. Torrey as chairman was regretfully accepted. Resolutions acknowledging his long and faithful service in this capacity were adopted. Dr. James A. Montgomery was elected chairman, and Dr. George A. Barton secretary, to succeed Dr. Albert T. Clay.

THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia was celebrated on April 30, the exact calendar day of its founding. Seven of the ten living charter members of the Club were present, and these all took part in the programme. President Edgerton presided and after dinner introduced Dr. Talcott Williams as toastmaster. The minutes of the first meeting were read by Mr. Stewart Culin, a letter from Dr. J. Rendel Harris was read, Mr. Benj. Smith Lyman spoke on 'Memories of the Club,' and Dr. J. P. Peters read a paper on 'Thirty Years' Progress in Semities,' with discussion by Drs. R. W. Rogers, M. Jastrow, and P. Haupt. Dr. Williams was the host of the first meeting, Mr. Culin the secretary, and Dr. Peters read the paper at that meeting on the eve of his undertaking the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Greetings were brought from the Oriental Club of New York by Dr. G. W. Gilmore, from the Oriental Club of New Haven by

Dr. E. W. Hopkins, and from the American Oriental Society by its Vice-President, Dr. A. V. W. Jackson, who also read a letter from its President, Dr. J. H. Breasted. The officers elected for the following year are Dr. M. L. Margolis, President, and Dr. R. G. Kent, Secretary.

PERSONALIA

DR. JAMES THEOPHILE MEEK, of the James Milliken University, has been called to the chair of Old Testament at the Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa.

DR. E. W. BURLINGAME has been appointed Lecturer in Pali at Yale University.

DR. ROYDEN K. YERKES has been elected Assistant Professor in History of Religions at the Philadelphia Divinity School.

MR. CARL W. BISHOP, in charge of the Expedition to the Far East of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, has returned to the Museum after nine months spent in China.

THE BACKGROUND OF TOTEMISM

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

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THE SECRET OF THE TOTEM has been successfully veiled for many years through the ingenious efforts of would-be interpreters, some of whom have even ventured to explain all religion as an outgrowth of totemism. Others, less rash, have been content to find totemism where it never existed. A typical case of invented totemism may be seen in the Hindu deluge-story, where Manu is rescued by a fish and the fish is interpreted as 'probably a totem.' This tale really illustrates the 'grateful animal' category of folk-lore. A fish, saved by Manu, in turn saves him. It is a fish that grows too rapidly to be a normal fish, yet it is identified with the *jhasha*, of which genus the *makara* is the best species. Manu does not revere it; it is at first no divinity. Only long afterwards, when the chief god becomes Brahman, and again when Vishnu is exalted, does the fish become a divine form and Avatar.

The people of the Vedic age knew the boar, the wolf, the monkey, the swan or goose, the eagle, the crocodile, the serpent, and before its close the elephant, and the tiger, yet they worshiped none of them, nor showed any sign that they felt themselves akin to any one of these animals. It is true that sometimes a Vedic god is said to 'rage like a terrible beast,' but only a perverted intelligence could find in this statement evidence that the god had previously been the animal.¹ Divinity of real animals is borrowed afterwards from the wild tribes (who have totems) or is a later growth which recognizes divinity as in a cow because the cow gives food. The (cloud) cows of the air like the (lightning) snake of the sky may be ignored as due to poetic diction. So the fact that the sun is a bull, an eagle, a horse, is no indication that any one of the three was regarded *quâ* animal as a totem or even as divine.

¹ This is the absurdity to which Wundt is led, who says that because Homer's heroes are like lions therefore they are totemistic survivals (*Mythus und Religion*, 2. 285).

Most attempts to find totemism where it is not remind one of the clever old Brahman who instructed Madam Blavatsky that all things were known to the seers of the Rig Veda. 'Even the steam-engine?' he was asked. 'Certainly,' he replied, 'for look you, in this place is mentioned smoke, here they speak of fire, and here again they sing of a car, and what is a locomotive save a car with fire and smoke?' So, to prove the existence of totemism, it is not enough to point to descent from a lion or to an individual name. In Africa, clan-totemism often reverts to animal-names given to one chief in flattery, 'O thou elephant,' 'O thou lion among men.'

Totem is said to mean 'token,' implying group-relationship; but not blood-relationship, since this would exclude plant-totems, unless these are all secondary. But at present there is a tendency to deprive the word totem of every meaning it ever had. The totem of British Columbia is a protective spirit (often not animal) seen in a vision and has no relation to relationship; it is individual, not clannish. An African chief, on dying, said that he would become a butterfly. Straightway the butterfly became the 'totem' of his clan (i. e. they would not kill it). And what shall we say of totems defined as 'odds and ends' and 'knots' (in Samoa) or the 'heart of all animals' and 'intestines' (African Kiziba 'totems')? What is the use of calling these totemic phenomena? Each is simply a case of taboo; to one clan 'intestines,' *quâ* taboo, became sacred; but that is not a totem. So sex-totems, honorific totems, color-totems, cloud-totems (Australian), twins as totems (Bantu Bahima)—are these totems at all? Or shall we say with Dr. Goldenweiser that, since every characteristic of totemism is negligible,² there remains as totemism nothing save a vague tendency for social groups to become associated 'with objects and symbols of emotional value,' and that totemism is merely a 'specific socialization of emotional values'? Would not this tenuous definition apply to a Baptist Church as well as to a totemic clan?

² The 'invariable characteristics' of totemism are supposed to be exogamy, taboo, religious veneration (totem-worship), name, and descent. But none of these is a necessary factor in totemism. Dr. Rivers's 'three essentials' are in typical form exogamy, descent, and taboo (of totem-flesh), whereas totemism may exist without any of these characteristics and essentials. See 'Totemism, An Analytical Study,' by A. A. Goldenweiser, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, 23 (1910), p. 182, 266, 275.

It may not be superfluous to remind the general student that totemism as the foundation of religion is only one of many suggested foundations, not one of which by itself will uphold the burden placed upon it. It was thought to be fundamental because it was said to be universal. But despite Robertson Smith's great work it has not been proved to be Semitic.³ Nor has it been found among the Aryans, where even in the Luper-calia it cannot be discovered.⁴ In Africa, what is called totemism is not religious and is usually derived from the personal totem.⁵ In South America, even Dr. Frazer admits that totemism and exogamy exist in only two tribes (the Goajiros and Arawaks, withal 'almost surely,' not quite), and the 'mother sea' and 'mother maize' of Peru were only ancestral food-givers (not totems). Moreover the admitted fact that the skin of the 'lion-ancestor' worn at festivals by the Chanchas is no evidence of totemism reacts on the explanation of such skin-clad revelers elsewhere, as in Greece and Rome.⁶

But by dint of calling almost anything totemism, totemism has been found almost everywhere. It really does exist in many different parts of the world, North America, Africa, Polynesia, Australia, etc. We will take it as we find it in some of its most primitive forms, where it has nothing to do necessarily with religion or with marriage.

In Australia, where we have been assured that there is no religion, only magic (but this is a fallacy), and where at any rate we find totemism without religious implication, there are two things to be considered. First, is this Australian culture unique or is it only part of a greater complex, taking in the Melaneseans? Indications point to a common substratum rather than

³ What Dr. Robertson Smith showed to exist among the Semites were elements of a possible totemism; but he could not show their combination. See his *Religion of the Semites*, p. 42 f. and 287; and (opposed) Lyall, in *JRAS* 1904, p. 589.

⁴ See L. Deubner in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1910, p. 481 f. For other Aryan fields, see Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, p. 74, 98; and A. B. Keith, *JRAS* 1907, p. 939.

⁵ See, for example, Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, etc., p. 205 f.; Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 210. Bantu totemism is usually of this sort. There is here no veneration for the totem.

⁶ See Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 95; *The Golden Bough*, 2. 293; *Totemism and Exogamy*, 2. 230; 3. 571, 579.

to isolation. How the connection arose is not difficult to imagine; why it stopped is harder to guess. At any rate there is the possibility that Australian savages represent not the most primitive stage but a decadent form of an earlier stage of culture, when, for example, these savages could sail the sea. Then, secondly, there is to be considered the complex of totemic groups. For the purpose of this paper I have stressed the kind of totemism in which the totem is eaten and exogamy is not considered. But no one kind of totemism can be posited for Australia. If totemism imply a relation (magical or religious) between a clan and a class of animals or plants, Australian totemism may be either in the female line (the child then belongs to the class of the mother), or in the male line (the child then belongs to the father's class of animals), the former sort belonging more to the eastern part of the country, the latter to other parts. But the Australian group may be merely a fortuitous class of collective owners of a certain territory, and in this case the child belongs to its father's totemic class, but the group is not exogamous (a western sort of totemism). Besides these sorts there is the totemism of the cult society, in which all are totem-members; the divided society, in which each half of the tribe has a different totem; and that of the four or eight divisions of relationship; while, in addition, sex-totemism again divides the tribe into two totemic parts. Moreover, personal totemism (New South Wales) gives every individual a separate totem. In some of these there is a definite ritual; in some, no ritual at all or a negative ritual.⁷

Australian custom has thus cast fresh light on totemism. But whereas in Australia reincarnation is associated with totemism and the guardian spirit is not associated with it; in British Columbia the guardian spirit is intimately associated with totemism and reincarnation is not associated with it. Moreover, descent from the totem is assumed in Australia and may be absent in British Columbia (it appears only in some tribes and then not clearly).

A very peculiar form of totemism has recently been found in the matrilinear society of the Fiji (a race probably connected

⁷ Compare the paper of Mr. A. R. Brown at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, August, 1914, in which the different forms of Australian totemism are classified.

with the Australians). There a man may eat his own clan totem but may not eat his father's.⁸ His own totem is derived from his mother. He may eat it, but his son may not. All the food growing on his father's tribal area (a sacred place) is taboo to the son, whether it be a banana or an eel, or both; to the son it is all 'spirit food,' taboo (but called 'totemic'). As a converted Fiji Christian explained the matter: 'Bananas and eels were forbidden to me by religious scruples because they belonged to my father. Formerly, if I ate them, they would make my mouth sore, but now that I have become a Methodist without any religious scruples, they do not hurt me.' This is 'totemism' in terms of legal right to property. Anything growing or living on the paternal land is 'totem,' i. e. taboo.

In Northern Australia, the majority of the tribes do not eat or eat only sparingly of the totem; but in some, the mother's totem, if given by a member of the group, may be eaten. Here, too, it is a question of legal rights rather than a religious matter. In the Kakadu (Northern Australian) form of totemism, the totem is determined by the spirit of a deceased person thought to be reincarnated in the totemist and in this case there is no food-restriction at all, simply because it is not a case of real totemism, since the spirit may come from any ancestor.⁹

It is evident that totemism raises the whole question of the fundamental relation between things secular and things religious in primitive mentality. Are they radically divided, is there a distinct cleavage between them, as is assumed in Durkheim's system, or shall we say that, as among the primitive Veddas, no such cleavage exists originally, but it develops gradually in accordance with the part played by religion in the social life? Conduct seems to have an accidental connection with

⁸ Compare A. M. Hocart, 'The Dual Organisation in Fiji,' *Man*, 1915, no. 3. A man may eat his own clan animal ('dispose of his own'), 'but he may not eat his father' (sic), because his father's is not his to dispose of.

⁹ Spirit-children swarm about and enter women, as in the Central Australian Arunta belief. See Baldwin Spencer, *Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (1914). On the connection between Australia and Melanesia, see Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*. Apropos of possible ancestors, in the New Hebrides a tribe traces its descent to a boomerang, which became a woman, ancestress of the clan.

religious life; not an intrinsic connection sufficient to produce a system of religious ethics. Even in the same race and clan totemic systems differ in regard to their social bearings.¹⁰

Once it was supposed that totemism conditioned the bed and board of the totemist; he must marry out of his totem-group (his kin) and he must not eat his totem except as a religious sacrament. On this assumption all the old theories of totemism were based. Exogamy, it was thought, arose from totemism.¹¹

But as exogamy exists without totemism (e. g. in Assam and Polynesia), so totemism has nothing to do fundamentally with exogamy. 'The Australian totemic clan is not as such exogamous.'¹² Again, the totemist may or may not eat his totem. The totem also as a 'receptacle of life' of the totemist has been imagined to be exercising its primitive function; but this theory (of the origin of totemism) has also been seen to be faulty. The personal totem has influenced the aspect of totemism in America. Much of what is called totemism in Africa originates in personal, not tribal totems, though it may become tribal. In Coomassie, for example, vultures are sacred to the royal family either through the caprice of a ruler or because they are useful as scavengers.¹³ This is the kind of 'totem' one finds as the totem of the royal house of Oudh in India, a fish that is really the symbol of a water-god who was once a Mohammedan saint!

The totemism of the name is the prevailing Polynesian and Micronesian type and apparently it is there the earliest. Among the most primitive Micronesians there is nothing religious in the use of totem-names or the plants and animals regarded as totems. It is to be observed also that here plants are as natural as animals in a totemic capacity. Since this is true also of primitive Australian totemism, it is evidently a false assumption that blood-kinship underlies totemism, especially when the totem may be e. g. lightning, as in Australia. In the Efatese (Micronesian) group, which is regarded as extremely primitive, women-names are usually those of vegetables and as the clan-name is given by the ancestress there is really more vegetal than animal

¹⁰ Compare B. Malinowski in *Man*, 1914, no. 89.

¹¹ J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*. A number of other works embody the same theory.

¹² Goldenweiser, *op. cit.* p. 241.

¹³ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 213.

totemism.¹⁴ Both kinds are found, however, and the point is chiefly that in the Efatese custom we have evidence of primitive totemism absolutely without reference to religion. The Efatese came perhaps from Arabia and may represent a primitive Semitic condition, where a purely economic and social matter became gradually overlaid with a religious coloring. So our Iroquois did not worship their totems, nor descend from their totems. Nor did the taboos of the Omahas have anything to do with their totems and they also may descend from guardians. Even the name of the Omaha group is not that of the totem. Thus totemism is not a homogeneous institution. Under the appearance of uniformity it conceals a heterogeneous collection of social and religious conditions as vague and unsystematic as are those of taboo and fetishism. It consists, if it means anything specific, in clan-respect for a class of plants or animals and usually in a regard for ancestors; but there is no proof that the most primitive totemism represents a condition in which these elements were already fused and confused, so that the plant or animal was the clan-ancestor, whose descendants have human brothers who will not slay them. The clan worship of an inviolate totem is a late, not a primitive form. Originally, real totemism may or may not be religious; it starts with a certain relation to the source of food and is apt to end with food, but on its course it is obnoxious to all the ills of a diseased religious consciousness. The taboo of eating totem-flesh is general in North America (though not universal) but such a taboo is not necessarily coterminous with the class; it may include a larger group, hence it may not be totemic in origin.

Certain aspects of totemism, such as tattooing and the use of totempoles and the 'medicine' carried by totemists, may be omitted from the discussion of primitive totemism. So the various taboos incidental to totemism are results which in themselves do not explain totemism. A vital error is that the sacrifice of the totem is fundamental; this leads to the idea that all sacrifice is based on totemism. Lastly there is a bookful of errors based on false notions of 'original totemism' and to be avoided as idle speculations. One well-known writer has declared that all domestication of animals reverts to totemism;

¹⁴ Compare D. Macdonald, *The Oceanic Languages*, p. xii.

wild animals, finding that as totems they were not molested, came to man and became household pets; wolves became dogs, tigers became cats. So plants were cultivated first as totems until man discovered that maize was good to eat and tobacco to smoke! Wundt explains man's present dislike to a diet of vermin on the assumption that we have inherited the feeling that vermin are sacred ancestral totems. This incredible suggestion is made in all seriousness and is merely an instance of what imagination can suggest under the guise of science.¹⁵

The name-theory of totemism is an old error. Herbert Spencer derived totemism from names; Jevons derives names from totemism. Andrew Lang attempted to explain the totem as a name and part of a system of naming.¹⁶ Something similar has also been tried by Pikler and Somló, who hold that the totem is a kind of writing—that is, that the totem-animal, painted, served originally as a mark to distinguish one clan from another.¹⁷

Other theories refer totemism to a belief in metempsychosis or to a belief in a personal guardian spirit. The first was favored by E. B. Tylor; but as metempsychosis is held by non-totemic people and totemists do not all believe in metempsychosis, this theory does not suffice, though it applies to certain selected examples, like the Bantus. The guardian-spirit theory has been dubbed the American theory, because it was invented here¹⁸

¹⁵ In his *Mythus and Religion*, 2. 298, Wundt thus explains by inherited 'Gefühlston' man's otherwise inexplicable aversion to a diet of worms, mice, snakes, etc. What is true is that there is a common superstition to the effect that vermin represent the souls of demons or of evil persons (in India due to Karma; hence holy water keeps off noxious insects). Wundt of course derives all nature-gods from animal-gods. He ignores completely the cogent evidence to the contrary. In Churchill's *Weather-words of Polynesia* (1907), men are derived direct from divine weather-aspects, rain, clouds, etc., which, as gods, generate all the races of earth. The savages who thus invent gods of phenomena as ancestors cannot be ignored; they represent a religious phase as primitive as totemism.

¹⁶ *The Secret of the Totem* (1905).

¹⁷ 'Der Ursprung des Totemismus,' in the *Jahrbuch für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1902. On the deficiencies as well as advantage of the name-theories, Wundt has some sound remarks, *op. cit.* 2. 265.

¹⁸ Miss Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem* (1895); Boas, in *U. S. National Museum* (1897). The personal guardian (seen in a dream) taken from the animal world is found also among the Iban of Borneo (originally from Sumatra). See *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, by Charles Hose and William McDougall (1912).

and is illustrated by American tribes. Yet the fact that this type of totemism is lacking in many places, for example, among the wild tribes of India, where totemism is common, does not make for its acceptance as a general explanation of the phenomena. The phase is, in fact, not tribal but individual, and against the theory stands the circumstance that it excludes women, who have no personal totem. The guardian-spirit (which may or may not be an animal-spirit) is in truth not a totem but rather resembles the bush-soul. In higher form it becomes the genius and guardian-angel.

Sir J. G. Frazer has advanced several theories in regard to the origin of totemism. He used to hold that the totem was the soul-keeper; but he then abandoned this view in favor of the theory that totemism was a system of magic intended to provide a supply of food for somebody else. This altruistic theory he explained as follows. In a group of clans, every clan killed its own totem for some other clan and subsisted itself on the kill of a third clan. Clan A killed for Clan B, Clan B for Clan C, etc.¹⁹ It is difficult to believe that savages, whose main business in life is to look out for Number One, ever arranged their hope of a dinner on the precarious promise of some other clan to supply them with food, and in fact Dr. Frazer himself abandoned this *sic vos non vobis* theory in favor of still a third explanation, which he now thinks will be his last theory. At any rate, it is his latest, though we may venture to hope it will not be his last. It is based on the fact that some savages believe that their offspring comes not from intercourse between men and women, but from the spirits of animals or quasi-animals seen by a woman, or from the food she eats. They think that the spirits which thus become their children are really the animals they have seen or whose flesh they have eaten before conceiving. Hence Dr. Frazer calls this the conceptional theory.²⁰

¹⁹ The food-theory of Dr. A. S. Haddon is that each clan subsisted on one animal and gave to its neighbors its superfluous supply; if crabs, then they would be called the Crab-clan.

²⁰ Compare *The Golden Bough* (1900), 3. 417 f.; *Totemism and Exogamy*, 4. 41 f. Dr. Frazer's latest theory is based on the investigations of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, 'Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1909, p. 172 f., in regard to the belief of the savages of Banks' Islands in the Northern New Hebrides, especially the natives of Mota and Motlav. The conceptional idea itself is found too

Curiously enough, almost all these theories absolutely ignore the usual foundation of totemism. The works of Spencer and Gillen on the tribes of Central Australia have shown that here totemism generally reverts to the principle of food-utility. The so-called Opossums in Central Australia received their totemic name because they 'subsisted principally on this little animal.'²¹ Is not this the most natural reason in the world? They that eat 'possum are called 'possums. They that eat meat in India are called Meaters. Do not we also have Frog-eaters, Beef-eaters, etc.? It is much to be regretted that Dr. Frazer in his latest theory has flung away completely all connection between food and totem, or admits it only as an accidental element in the conceptional theory. In fact, most totemism rests on food-supply. The ancients tell us that the totemic troglodytes at the time of Agatharcides regarded their cattle as parents. Why? Because (they said) their cattle supplied them with food.²² In the Harivansha, which reflects Hindu belief of circa 400 A. D., the cowboys say: 'The hills where we live and the cows whereby we live are our divinities; let the gods, if they will, make a feast to Indra; as for us, we hold the hills and cows to be the objects worthy of our worship and reverence. For in that they serve us they should be requited. *That whereby one is supported should be his divinity*; hence we will make a festival in honor of our cows.'²³ This is exactly the Toda point of view, though not the Toda rite.

The totemless Hindu here recognizes that the provider is the god to him provided for. This is the general background of 'real totemism.' It is found all over the earth and at times comes to the point of gliding into true totemism.

not only in Australia but in Germany, where also women were supposed to conceive on sight. On P. W. Schmidt's 'trade-totemism,' *Z. f. E.* 12 (1909), which follows the lines of Frazer's theory of food exchange, see Goldenweiser, p. 277.

²¹ Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 209.

²² Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 296.

²³ *Gāvo hi pūjyāḥ . . . goyajñam kārayisyāmi*, Hariv. 2. 16. 1 f. (3807-3851). The cows are garlanded and sacrifice of meat and milk is made to the hills. It is grossly explained in the sequel that god Krishna 'became the hill' (transubstantiation); but this is merely an orthodox trick to convert the rustic rite into one in honor of the recognized divinity.

Thus, in Peru fish are deified on the sea-coast and maize is not; but maize is deified inland, simply because it is the staple diet. This is the first step in totemization. The giver of food is the giver of life; the giver of life is conceived either as father and as mother or as both parents and god. Hence the maize is called not only divine but mother.

In the Boston State House there hangs to this day the effigy of a huge cod-fish, an object of almost devout reverence. Why? Because our Yankee ancestors got their food-supply to a very great extent from this kind of fish. For that reason only was the cod elevated to a position of such dignity. They did not worship it; but they made it their 'token.' Their thought was 'in Cod we trust,' and they expressed this thought openly in the idol of that fish.

In Yezo a bear is sacrificed annually as a half-divine animal. It is fed and nourished by the women and then 'sent to its parents' with every mark of sorrow and respect. Now this Yezo bear is not a totem. The Ainu claim no clan-blood-brotherhood with it. Yet in this sacrifice we are at the very edge of true totemism; for the bear is the food-supply, hence divine, hence too, sacrificed, that it may take a message to the bear-clan, tell how well it has been treated, and return next year. Compare with this the spring sacrifice made by the Mayas of one animal of each species for the sake of getting increase. Are not these (which are not examples of totemism) almost totemistic? The Yezo ceremony is like that of the British Columbian Lillooet, who also sing a song of mourning to the bear they kill and invoke it to send game of its own kind. Even the raising of the head on a pole is found here.²⁴ Yet this is not a 'totemic' clan.

But, it will be urged, why then the prohibition against eating the totem? In Australia the prohibition against eating is, as I have shown, a secondary stage, while in some cases there is merely a hygienic restriction. In America many tribes eat their totem, while vegetable totems (maize, for example) are clearly sacred because they are a food-supply. Sun-supply and food-supply in Australia brought forth the same rites. In other words, both rituals were for the same purpose, to increase the

²⁴ Teit, *Jesup Expedition*, apud Goldenweiser, *op. cit.* p. 204.

power of food-giver and light-giver as food-giver. Nor can it be objected that 'things not fit to eat' are made totems. Different times, different stomachs. Even our immediate forefathers ate things that we would rather revere than eat, and savages eat anything edible. Again, inedible things such as poisonous objects become holy by way of being hygienically taboo, and such a taboo-plant, as holy, tends to confuse totem-holiness with taboo-holiness. In India there are many taboo-trees and taboo-plants, though none is a totem to the Aryan. They are taboo either because they are sacred to a god or because they are poisonous. So we have poisonous totems. The Begandas of Africa say that their whole totem-system (it is not really totemism, but resembles it) is based on purely hygienic principles. Their 'totem' is injurious; it made their ancestor ill; hence it is 'holy'; hence not eaten. But others may eat it. Many other peoples permit their neighbors to kill the totem they themselves would like to kill and eat did they dare. The Australian Blackfellow now kills rarely what he used to kill and eat freely. Alabama and Georgia Indians always used to eat their totems. Is it not an assumption to say that these edible totems represent a later stage? Australian custom suggests that the non-edible totem is the later totem, the more edible the earlier. Moreover, worship is a secondary stage. The Omaha Indians never worshiped their totems. The Californians show a middle stage, that of the Egyptians and Todas, who kill but rarely and eat the totem as a sacrament. Then behind that lies the stage in which the totem is killed freely all the year round, but once a year is killed as a sacrament. Such is said to be the totemism found among some tribes of the Caucasus, and it is the usage, but without totemic kinship, of the Ainus already described. The animal killed is offered apologies lest its spirit retaliate; but this apologetic attitude is found with savages even when they kill an ordinary animal or cut down a tree. It is assumed merely to safeguard the slayer from its victim's angry spirit.²⁵

²⁵ The apology to any animal slain is made in America; to the tree, for example, in Africa. It does not imply constant worship, but only a passing respectful solicitude, lest the animal or tree, being vexed, retaliate. This attitude results in a sort of momentary 'worship' (placation).

One plant and one animal in India have been divine for millenniums, the moon-plant and the cow. Their deification as drink and food was gradual. At first anyone might drink the moon-plant beer and any guest had a cow killed for his food. The Soma then became reserved for the priest; the cow became reserved as milk-giver. Both became as food and drink divine; Soma as intoxicant became a magical thing, taboo to the vulgar. Yet neither Soma nor Cow ever became a totem. Their divinity lay in their use, not in their ancestorhood.²⁶

Wundt thinks he has added something to the history of totemism by saying that in establishing the totem on a cultural basis the cult itself was made permanent; in other words, periodic religious ceremonies, leading up to an observance of days in general, were introduced by totemism, which (in Wundt's own words) was 'the greatest and most important step taken in the development of cult' (that is, of cult in general).²⁷ Yet this discovery of Wundt is not so significant as it appears to be. For it rests on the conviction that totemism is the base of all other cults. As a matter of fact, savages base their cult much more generally on seasonal changes than on totemic observances; in fact the latter are often no more than the reflection of the former. Wundt with his over-driven theory of the Fanany-cult fails to recognize the equally old and far more common fear of animals not as totems but as spirit-forms of reincarnated human beings. This popular belief is more important than that of the 'worm-spirit.' On the whole, Wundt's theory that totemism underlies all religion and that, underlying totemism, is the belief that the worms crawling out of a dead man's body are his souls, is as little likely to satisfy serious investigators as any of the one-sided theories of the origin of religion which preceded it. Not only is totemism not the basis of religion; it represents no religious stage or stratum whatever.²⁸

²⁶ The divine myrobolan called 'chebulie' as an efficacious drug arose from a drop of ambrosia; garlic sprang from drops shed by Rahu and has a demoniac power, etc. The Varuna tree is named for the god. Other plants and trees receive a similar sanctity.

²⁷ Wundt, *op. cit.* 2. 258.

²⁸ See on this point the very sensible observations of Dr. Goldenweiser, *op. cit.* p. 264.

If then we have regard to the fact that, with all its divergencies in detail, totemism in its original habitat (i. e. where the name arose) is in the main a recognition of a peculiar bond subsisting between a group of human and a group of animal or vegetable beings, that this bond is not an individual or sex matter, but that in the great majority of cases it is connected with dietary restrictions, we have the basis of what may reasonably be called totemism. To dub every cult of an animal totemic is like calling any object of religious regard a fetish; it tends to meaninglessness. From this point of view we may then reasonably admit as totemic what appears to be the earlier stage in this human bond, as illustrated by the cases forming what I have ventured to call the background of totemism, Australian, Peruvian, etc., in which the reason for the bond is palpably because the totem (though not yet a real totem) is regarded as the provider of sustenance, primarily because it is the totemist's food, Mother Maize, Grandfather Fish, etc. Even where there is no tribal bond, in the individual guardian, this motive shows itself in another form; for the guardian is a spirit whose guardianship is especially exercised in leading the ward to his food, directing him on the hunt, just as the father-ghost of the Vedda is invoked mainly to guide the suppliant son on the track of his prey.

If we abandon this guiding thread, we are lost in the labyrinth. There remains no more than a vague notion that totemism indicates a social apprehension of some spiritual power, or, as a recent scientist has expressed it, 'What is totemism anyway except consecration to spirits?' Nothing is gained by such a definition. On the other hand, it is a great gain to recognize that the old limitations imposed upon totemism are not essential: it does not necessarily imply worship, exogamy, descent, or name. All these things are special social variations springing out of totemism according to circumstances.²⁹

²⁹ Among the Gilyaks a drowned clansman becomes a beast called Master (spirit), who is revered as a guardian. But this spirit lacks the fundamental essence of totemism in that it is (or was) human and individual. A half-human totem is a common Australian phenomenon, but always this monster is invented as an explanation of a bifurcated descent into animal and human categories; either the animal nature is always present, or the

Thus finally the matter becomes a question of definition. Is it well to make totemism synonymous with any trait found in it? After all, the word totemism is American, and in America, until the sociologists began to play with it, it had a pretty definite meaning, not necessarily involving name, descent, exogamy, worship, or taboo, but always implying a clan-connection with a class of animals or plants, and this connection ought to be maintained in our use of the word. That this connection was originally based on economic grounds (as I think) is a secondary matter. But we should not call lightning or intestines 'totems.' In an already established totemic environment such weird 'totems' may be adopted, as the social need of a totem may be satisfied by calling any object of taboo a totem, but secondary phenomena should not lead us to ignore what totemism really represents.

human ancestor has a very intimate connection with the totem-animal. Association serves as well as descent in America to give the totem, but it is association with a non-human creature. In British Columbia, as in some of our tribes, the totem-animal is a regular source of food-supply and is freely hunted, killed, and eaten.

THE DEMON OF NOONDAY AND SOME RELATED IDEAS

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§1. THE RAYS of the sun toward noonday, especially in midsummer, have been found to cause discomfort, dizziness, collapse and death. The disorder so caused is called *sunstroke*, *Sonnenstich*: the blow or stab given by the sun. In warm countries it is necessary to avoid this danger by remaining under shelter during the noon hours.¹ The symptoms are most apparent in countries where men have not learned the causes of the evil as, e. g., in Abyssinia where a long fast is broken at high noon with the consumption of quantities of raw meat. It is natural to regard the period as dangerous and haunted by some demonic agency. And since summer is the noonday of the year, the summer itself is the special season of the noonday demon.

§2. Another reason for fearing noonday is that a man's shadow at this time becomes very small or disappears. The shadow is the double, the soul, the Ka, the companion;² and at noon a man is easily overcome because his shadow is small.³

For this reason one says: مَدَّ اللّٰهُ ظِلَّهُ, *May God extend his shadow!*⁴ The lassitude of noonday favors the belief. In cases of death from sunstroke the natural inference is that this has resulted from the complete disappearance of the shadow, or from a demonic attack in a moment of extreme vulnerability.⁵

§3. Midnight also is an hour beset with fears. In Semitic lands especially it is attended with cold. The vitality is low and one may suffer a chill. These effects are easily attributed to a

¹ Arabic قِيَالَة 'siesta'.

² Arabic قَرِينَة cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 156.

³ Frazer, *Perils of the Soul*, pp. 86 ff.

⁴ Cf. *al-Fahrī*, part 2, section 1: مَدَّ اللّٰهُ ظِلَّهُ, *anglice*: 'May his shadow never grow less!'

⁵ Frazer, p. 88.

demon who rules the hour, and such beliefs are strengthened by other night-fears, such as unexplained sounds in the midst of darkness and silence.⁶ And as chill arises from the fever caught at noonday and fever from the chill caught at midnight, the midnight demon is easily established as the opposite manifestation to the midday demon, or both are considered to be forms of the same ghostly agency.

§4. Closely connected with the idea of midday heat and midnight cold is that of baneful hot or cold winds; because they not only often occur at these hours respectively, but also because they typify the heat and the cold, and are the source of distempers like those caused by the latter. Thus the Arab *samûm*, السَّمُوم, the *poisonous*,⁷ is a demonic agency of many manifestations. The word has the following meanings:⁸ (a) The noonday heat⁹; (b) a hot wind blowing in the daytime but also at night.¹⁰ This may be sudden in appearance and of short duration (5-20 min.), following a narrow path in the manner of a whirlwind;¹¹ or steady and prolonged, in midsummer from July 11 for forty days, and blowing from SE¹²; (c) a cold wind; although Dozy's سَمَائِمُ الْبَرْدِ means nothing more than: *samûms of the cold season*; and Lane's sources include a statement that سَمُومٌ بَارِدٌ means a constant *samûm* and not a cold *samûm*; (d) the heat of summer, dog-days, *canicule*¹³; (e) the cold of winter.¹³

⁶ Wellhausen, p. 151 *et alibi*.

⁷ From سَمَّ 'he poisoned'. The English word is 'simoom', 'simoon'.

⁸ Sources: *Lisân ul-'Arab*; Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*; Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*; *The Century Dictionary*; in the articles on

سَمَّ, سَمُوم, *simoom*.

⁹ *Lisân*: حَرَّ النَّهَارِ.

¹⁰ Dozy and *Lisân*.

The corresponding wind of night is properly الْحَرَّور, but the terms have been interchanged, *Lisân*.

¹¹ *Lisân*; cf. *Century Dictionary*.

¹² Lane and Dozy.

¹³ Dozy; 'le fort de l'été et de l'hiver'.

§5. If the foregoing combination seem strange, one should turn to old Babylonian theology. There can be little doubt that it is explained, or at least illustrated, by *Šarrāpu* and *Birdu*,¹⁴ the 'demons of the desert', i. e. the hot and cold winds of the desert, in the language of the Amorites of the Westland. The Babylonian equivalents of these are *Šitlamtaēa* and *Lugal-gira*, identified with the Heavenly Twins which rise in the dog-days, and with the waxing and the waning moon which cause fever and chills.¹⁵ But *Lugal-gira* and *Šitlamtaēa* are manifestations of Nergal, the fiery and destructive god of the sun when it is at noon or in midsummer or in the south, and the god of pests and fevers.¹⁶ Again it is evident that a similar notion lies behind the *דבר באפל הלל* and the *קטב ישור צהרים* of Ps. 91.6: the 'night-walking pest' and the 'noonday plague'. Whatever their intended meaning in the Old Testament,¹⁷ these words were later understood by the Jews as referring to demons. Rabbinical literature is acquainted with demons of evening, night, morning and midday. The period between the 17th of

¹⁴ Cf. Assyrian: *šarāpu*, 'to burn', and *בִּרְדוּ* 'to be cold', Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, p. 115; Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. 1, pp. xlii, 89: The first of the Seven Devils is the South Wind.

¹⁵ *KAT* 413, 415.

¹⁶ *KAT* 412 ff. The two planets, Saturn and Mars, with which Nergal and Ninib were associated in some manner which is still in dispute, linger on in astrology as malign influences. Mars is 'hot and dry', while Saturn is 'cold and dry' (al-'Antaki, *at-Taḏkira*, part 3, p. 6; *JAOS* 36. 47). Excess of the hot-and-dry humor produces fever in the body, that of cold-and-dry produces chill (cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1. 1. 2. 2; 1. 2. 1. 4).

¹⁷ Ps. 91.6; Isaiah 28.2; Deut. 32.24; Hos. 13.14. Ps. 91.6 is rendered in the LXX with: ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ; by Aquila with: ἀπὸ δῆγμοῦ δαιμονιζόντος μεσημβρίας: 'from accident and the demon of noonday'; 'from the sting of noonday which causes one to be possessed'. The former translation arises from reading *יָשׁוּר*, 'and the demon', instead of *יָשׁוּר*, 'which rages' (so also Duhm, *Die Psalmen*). There is nothing in the Hebrew text to demand a demonic interpretation; in fact, observing the true character of the qualificative relative clause with indefinite antecedent and no relative pronoun, we should translate: 'any night-walking pest' and 'any pestilence raging (*יָשׁוּר*) at noonday'; although this distinction is not always observed, notably in poetry. It will be seen that

Tammuz and the 9th of Ab was especially dangerous because then the demon Qeteb Merîrî reigns between ten in the forenoon and three in the afternoon.

§6. The *gûl* is any sort of a specter which confronts the lonely traveler in the desert at night. It is properly female, but in upper Egypt male. It changes its shape and appearance. It calls one by name. One faints at the sight of it. Those of upper Egypt try to outrage their victims unnaturally, in which case death results. The *gûl* may be banished by reciting certain parts of the Quran.¹⁸ The *gûl* has a complex origin in beliefs about desert animals, werewolves, lycanthropous wizards and ghosts. It is also connected in some manner with astronomical phenomena. Some believe that *gûls* are nothing but the palpable manifestation of the invisible operation of the stars when they rise, such as the sickness of dogs, caused by the rising of the dog-star.¹⁹ The ancestor of all the demons was one called al-Gânn who was created 'from the fire of the samûm', and who begat all the *gûls*.²⁰ The most terrible variety of *gûl* is that of upper Egypt²¹ which is called *المريسي*; and it is from upper Egypt that the wind *المريسي* blows.

§7. In Abyssinia, whence a great deal of superstition has reached Egypt,²³ and in Arabia²⁴—which is the richest in demonology of all Semitic lands, with the single exception of Baby-

Aquila (reading *רשע*) rationalized as far as language permitted. The Ethiopic, Boheiric and Sahidic versions all follow LXX. The further result of these readings is discussed in note 27. In nos. 7 and 8 of the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, edited by Montgomery, 1913, occurs *שחרה* as an expression for deep slumber by day, when demonic attacks are apprehended.

¹⁸ ad-Damirî, *Hajât ul-Hajawân*, s. voc. *غول*; al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûğ uḡ-Dahab*, chap. 49.

¹⁹ al-Mas'ûdî, p. 316, ed. Barbier de Meynard.

²⁰ al-Mas'ûdî, p. 320.

²¹ al-Mas'ûdî, ch. 49.

²² Coptic *ΜΑΡΗΣ*, 'place of the south', 'upper Egypt'.

²³ Cf. e. g. the Zâr, which seems to be more cultivated in upper than in lower Egypt, and therefore to have come down the Nile and not across from Mecca by the pilgrim route. See Kahle in *Der Islam*, 3.1 ff. and the previous literature there cited, and, for Abyssinia, the present writer in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 29.29, with references.

²⁴ Wellhausen, pp. 159, 161.

lonia—there is a popular belief in a demon of noonday, the *Ganêna Qatr*, 𐤂𐤁: 𐤍𐤕: ²⁵ He causes violent illness and death among those who, according to custom, terminate a period of fasting with a gluttonous repast of raw meat at noon²⁶ when they should, in such a climate, eat but sparingly. This demon may have originated independently, or may be in some degree connected with the beliefs set forth in the preceding paragraphs.²⁷

§8. In Willmore's *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 1905, p. 373, occurs a vernacular text regarding a demon of noonday and summer heat who confronts a man when he is alone in a desert place, calls him by name, changes her appearance and, unless overcome by verses of the Quran, catches him and embraces him, so that he is pierced by the spines which she has for nipples.²⁸ She is called in Cairo *al-Mezêjara*, or *el-Mezaijara*,²⁹

²⁵ *Z. f. Ass.* 23, 24, 29; Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. 'Charms (Abyssinianian)'.
²⁶ From a personal letter of Mrs. Elsa Windquist of Stockholm.

²⁷ Cf. especially note 17. The LXX rendering of Ps. 91.6 finds an echo in a mediaeval text published by Leo Allatius in *De Templis Graecorum Recentioribus*, 1645: 'Ἁγίε Πατάπιε πάταξον πάν κακόν, καὶ δαιμονικόν μεσημβρινόν, καὶ μεσονυκτικόν. . . . 'O St. Patapios, smite every evil, both that which is demonic of noonday, and that which is of midnight. . . .'; μήτε ἐν νυκτὶ, μήτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, μήτε ἐν ὥρᾳ μεσονυκτίου. . . . (p. 126 ff.). The Ethiopic version of the Psalter renders 91.6 with: 'from accident and from the demon of noonday'. How easily a literary reference may give rise to a demon is seen from the title inserted in the text of the Ethiopic New Testament just before Lk. 8.26: 'Concerning him whom Lēgēwōn had seized'. The personal name of this demon appears to be Qāwēzō (*Z. f. A.*, loc. cit.).

²⁸ 'The Mezêjara. In the summer time, when you go out after midday, in the height of the noonday heat, when the earth is scorched and made to blaze like fire and the ground seems to you hot as firebrands, you will look and see this Mezaijara appear to you, hopping along the surface of the ground. And then you will see that she is dressed in a white shawl [izâr] and white garments throughout. And there are some whom people encounter—she has children sitting beside her or in her lap or playing about her as she sits. And then, my brother, you will see that she will call one by his name and say: 'O So-and-so!' in a very loud voice. Then one replies to her, inquiring why she has called one by one's name. And after a little one will see her sitting idly, all hunched over, with her hands hanging down beside her; and she says to one: 'Fear not, I am your mother!' Then one approaches her and finds that she is being carried from her place

in Asyût, upper Egypt, *al-Me'aizara*. The word has not been explained. Obviously the story-teller believes it to be derived from the second stem of the root *ز* 'to wrap in a tazîra', which is a white shawl.³⁰ But the same root and stem also mean 'to pursue', 'to confuse'. The classical equivalent of this root is *ز*, the second stem of which means 'to veil'. Vollers,³¹ in speaking of the name *Zâr*, which he writes *زار*, says: 'Eine Nebenform ist *المظيرة mizzaijara*,³² anscheinend auch mit modificirter Bedeutung, denn es wird mir erklärt als ein Geist, der in Frauenkleidern nächtlichen Wanderern in Strassen und auf Wegen entgegentritt; wer sich ihm zu nähern wagt, den presst er so heftig an die Brust, dass er augenblicklich stirbt'. This description of the same demoness contains some interesting differences. The creature is male, not female, but nevertheless dressed as a woman. It appears at night and not at noon. It kills by squeezing, not having the spines. In being male it resembles the upper Egyptian *gûl*.³³ In appearing at night it

without using her feet, being inflated like a balloon. And if one has an ample span of life and if one's days are long one will say to oneself: 'My boy, this is very fine; but what did this mother of yours come away out into the desert for? Probably this is the Mezaïjara which people tell these things about'. And you will see his whole body frightened and trembling and all his members struggling to escape; and presently he breaks into a run. And as soon as he begins to run she bounces along after him like a ball. If he knows how to recite the *Şamadija* or the Throne Verse, and keeps on reciting them and running till he turns and eludes her within the space of two or three qasabas, as soon as he finds himself far from her he says: "Praise is unto God the Lord of the Worlds who has saved me luckily out of her hand." But if one does not rid himself of her, people say that she has breasts of iron which have spines and nipples that are like needles. And as soon as a man approaches her, instead of running away from her, she presses him to her breast; and you will see the spines enter his breast and come out of his back; and then he falls down dead'.

³⁰ Spiro, *Arabic English Vocabulary*, *مزيرة* 'female demon'; Willmore, *op. cit.* 446, 'a demoness'.

³¹ See note 28.

³² *ZDMG* 45. 344 f.

³³ This identification seems to be Vollers' own, and it has no apparent justification. *Zâr* is an Abyssinian word. 'Mizzaijara' is not vernacular Egyptian in form. Mitzaïjara would be possible in the same sense as Mezaïjara.

³⁴ Cf. § 5.

is like any *gûl*, and is the companion piece to the creature which appears at noon. The embracing is evidently, in both cases, a remnant of the belief in regard to the upper Egyptian *gûl* recounted in §6.

§9. From the foregoing we may say by way of conclusion that noonday and midnight, midsummer and midwinter, hot winds and cold winds, are demonic agencies, connected with one another. They are the type of the disorder of fever and chills which they cause. This is reflected in the beliefs of the Babylonians and Amorites, the Hebrews, the Christian Greeks and Abyssinians, the Arabs, and occultists of Western Europe. The Christian tradition is connected with Ps. 91.6. The Arabs adapted old Babylonian astrological notions to their own lively belief in *gûls* and produced a creature which is still a figure in the popular belief of Cairo.

A VOTIVE INSCRIPTION OF ASHURBANIPAL

(Bu. 89-4-26, 209)

THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK

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TRANSLITERATION

OBVERSE

- a-na ^{iat}N]in-gal muṭi-bat balāṭi i-lat ta-na-d[a-ti
a-na] um-mi ilāni^{pl} ka-ri[t-tum
be-i]l-tum da-me-iḫ-tum ša bu-un-ni e[k-li-ti
ša k]ima ū-me it-tan-bi-ṭu zi-m[u-ša
5 ḫi-r]at ^{iat}Nannariⁱ bēli a-ša-ri-di šu-pu-u nūr šame-e ni-su-
u-t[i
a-lid-da-at ^{iat}Šamaš munammir kib-ra-a-ti ša šib-ṭu u purussū
gum-mu-ru šu-ur-[riš
ša-bi-ta-at ab-bu-ti a-na na-an-nar ilāni^{pl} na-ra-me-i ša ūlti[^{iat}
ma-li-kat mīlki ka-ba-at damiḫ-tim a-na ^{iat}Šamaš bu-uk-ri-[ša
mu-dam-me-ḫat a-mat un-ni-ni mu-ad-da-a-ta šarri pa-li-ḫi-
i-ša
10 ru-ba-a-tu rim-ni-tum ma-ḫi-rat tes-li-ti a-ši-bat E-gé-bár
ša ki-rib ^{iat}Har-ra-na bēliti rabī-ti bēlit kiššati
ana-ku ^m ^{iat}Ašur-bân-apli šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar
kiššati šar ^{mât}Aššur
mâr ^m ^{iat}Ašur-aḫê-iddin šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar kiššati
šar ^{mât}Aššur
mâr mârî ^m ^{iat}Sin-aḫê-erba šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar
kiššati šar ^{mât}Aššur
15 šarru na-ram ^{iat}Sin u ^{iat}Šamaš rubû na-'i-du
ni-šit inê^{dual} ^{iat}Nin-gal u ^{iat}Nusku
ša ina ku-un lib-bi-šu-nu ki-ni-š ut-tu-u-šu-ma
a-na du-ur ū-me iḫ-bu-u e-pi-š šarru-u-ti-šu
u-še-pi-š-ma mar-nenni ^{iat}tal-li ^{iat}SUĜ-NA ^{iat}ši-bu ma-li
20 ša dun-nu-nu idat-su-u[n
ap-pu u išdu ina ḫurāši rušši-e mar-nenni ki-lal uḫ-ḫi-iz-m[a
kima ū-me u-nam-me-ra pi-in-gi-šu-u[n
a-na i-tab-bul ilu-ti-ša rabī-tu ša a-ši-e bīt a-ki-ti e-pi-š-t[u
šu-tu

OBVERSE

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a-na da-rat šanâtî¹ la-bar û-me rûkûti¹ a-na ilu-ti-ša u-[še-piš

25 *a-n]a šat-ti ^{iat}Nin-gal e-til-lit šamê ellûti¹ šu-pu-[tu ka-rit-tum*

^{iat}tal-l]i šu-nu-ti damki-iš lip-pa-lis-ma ha-diš

^{iat}Sin hâmir ^{iat}N]in-gal giš-ru ib-bu ma-zu(?)

(Remainder of Obverse broken)

REVERSE

2 -am-miš lis-ku-na li-iš-sur

. ši bi a ^{iat}Šamaš li-te-diš li

ina pale-e šâtî¹ e-nu-ma ^{iat}tal-li

5 *ište-en ina lib-bi-šu-nu in-na-ḥu-u-ma i-raš-šu-u m[a-ki-ti*

^{iat}tal-li šu-nu-ti li-id-diš-ma ši-pir kâtê^{iat}ia

a-a u-ša-an-ni-ma li-tir aš-ru-u[š-šu

ni-iš zi-kir ^{iat}Nin-gal be-el-t[ia

u ta-nit-ti ilani¹ rabûti¹ ti-ik-li-ia liš-ḥu-[ul

10 *zi-kir šumi-ia damki ša ^{iat}Ašur u ^{iat}Mar[duk*

eli kal mal-ki u-šar-bu-[u

it-ti šum-šu ši-ru-uš-šu liš-ṭur-ma li-šip aḥ-ra-a-ti

^{iat}Sin u ^{iat}Nin-gal ši-pir kâtê^{iat}šu ha-diš lim-ḥu-ru-ma

lim-gu-ru su-pi-e-šu

15 *u ša ^{iat}tal-li šu-nu-ti u-nak-kar-u-ma*

iḥ-zi-e-šu a-na šip-ri ša-nim-ma e-pu-šu

u ta-nit-ti ^{iat}Nin-gal bêlti-ia ib-ba-la-ma

zi-kir šumi-ia u-ša-an-nu-u

^{iat}Sin bêlu rabu-u ga-nun-šu lu-šag-lit-su-ma ^{iat}Sêdu balâfi

li-ir-pu-ud

20 *^{iat}Nin-gal bêltu rabî-tu ši-mit-ti ^{iat}ni-ri-šu lip-ṭur-ma*

liš-bi-ra ^{iat}ap-ša-an-šu

an-ni-u ša ina eli ^{iat}tal-li ša ^{iat}Nin-gal

TRANSLATION

OBVERSE

For Ningal; she who maketh life pleasant; goddess of majesty;

For the mother of the gods; valorous one;

- Gracious lady, who lighteth up the darkness,
Whose countenance shineth like day;
- 5 Consort of Nannar, the supreme lord, the brilliant light of
the distant heavens;
Mother of Shamash, who lighteth up the skies, whose decree
and decision are replete with light;
Protector of the luminary of the gods, the beloved of the
goddess;
Councilor; who speaketh favor to Shamash, her first-born;
Who maketh favorable the word of supplication; who
maketh the king know fear of her;
- 10 Mighty one; gracious one; who accepteth prayer; who
dwelleth in Egebar,
Which is in Harran; mighty lady; lady of the world;
I, Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, the king
of the world, the king of Assyria,
The son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king,
the king of the world, the king of Assyria,
The grandson of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty
king, the king of the world, the king of Assyria,
- 15 The king, the beloved of Sin and Shamash, the exalted
prince,
The darling of Ningal and Nusku,
Who in the fidelity of their hearts have truly chosen him
and
To the eternity of days have proclaimed the work of his
majesty:
I had (them) made and I finished off the adornment(?) of
the arks(?) with SUĜ-NA (and) precious wood,
- 20 Which strengthened their sides:
The front and the base with a heavy(?) bright gold set-
ting(?) I embossed and
I made their ornamental work shine like day.
To carry her august divinity, when she goes forth from
the festal temple, this work
To the eternity of years, the aging of far-off days, for her
divinity I had made.
- 25 Ever may Ningal, the mistress of the glowing heavens, the
shining, valorous one,
Look with favor upon these arks and with joy accept them!

May Sin, the spouse of Ningal, the powerful, shining one,

.

(Remainder of Obverse broken)

REVERSE

2 Carefully(?) may he look after (them), may he guard
(them) [well(?)]

. may Shamash make (them) bright, may
he

In coming reigns, when the arks [become old and

5 One of them is fallen into decay and become a ruin,

May one restore these arks and the work of my hands

May he not alter, but return to its place!

The memorial of Ningal, my lady,

And the glory of the mighty gods, my protectors, may he
proclaim!

10 My illustrious name, which Ashur and Marduk

Have made greater than any prince,

Together with his own name on it may he inscribe and
pass on to the future!

May Sin and Ningal accept with joy the work of his hands!

May they favor his prayers!

15 But he who alters these arks and

Changes their contents into something else

And the glory of Ningal, my lady, defames and

Changes my name,

May Sin, the mighty lord, cause him to lose his mind and
may the *shedu*-spirit take away his life!

20 May Ningal, the mighty lady, turn loose his chariot horses
and

Smash his yoke!

Behold that which was (written) on the arks of Ningal.

NOTES


This text was first published by Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, 2, No. 1, and on the basis of this Martin attempted a translation in his *Textes Religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens* (1900), pp. 2 ff. The present edition offers a

number of corrections of both Craig and Martin; an attempt has been made to clear up several difficult passages in the text; and restorations of the broken lines have been essayed.

The text is a copy of an inscription that Ashurbanipal had inscribed upon certain *talli* or arks(?), which he had made as a votive offering to Ningal in the city of Harran.

OBVERSE

3. For the second sign Craig has read incorrectly *im*, and following this Martin restores, *ri*]-*im-tum*. The end of the line Martin restores, *ša bu-un-ni na*[*m-ru*, and translates, 'celle dont la personne est pleine d'éclat'. Against this restoration it is to be noted, (1) that there is room for two signs in the broken end of the line, as there are two signs to be restored in the same space at the end of the next line, (2) that *bu-un-ni*, since it has no pronominal suffix to complete the relative particle *ša*, is more naturally translated as a verb than a noun.

6. The latter part of this line Martin reads, *ša šip-tu u purussu num-mu-ru šu-ur*-[*riš*, 'dont l'oracle et la décision brillent avec éclat'. For the sign  he gives the very rare value *num*, which would seem improbable here, and unnecessary. With the phrase as we have read it compare, *gam-ra-a-ti šib-ṭa u purussâ ur-ti iršitim^{im} u ša-ma-mi*, 'thou (Ishtar) dost perfect decree and decision, the law of earth and heaven', King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, 2, Plate lxxv, Obv. 13. Another possible reading for the last two words of the line would be *gum-mu-ru-šu ur*-[*riš*, and the last clause would then read, 'to whom decree and decision are entrusted over the light'. Again, the last word might be restored *šu-ur*-[*šiš*, in which case the clause would read, 'whose decree and decision are completely fulfilled'. The objection to this restoration is that *šuršiš* is of rare occurrence, appearing, so far as I know, only in Creation Story, 4. 90.

7. Martin restores the last sign *šamaš* in place of *ti*, but the latter makes better sense.

8. The fourth sign Craig, followed by Martin, reads incorrectly as the sign for *rêmu*, Delitzsch, *AL*⁴, no. 156.

9. The second clause Martin translates, 'celle qui affermit le roi qui la vénère'. The long *i* in *pa-li-hi-i-ša*, he says, should indicate the plural, but it is rather the long vowel expressive of continued action, common in Semitic languages.

11. In place of *bêlit kiššati* Martin reads incorrectly *bêliti-šu*. For the former reading cf. Obv. 12.

19. This line is a difficult one to decipher. *mar-nenni*, (which Martin falsely reads GIŠ ME-PUL-PUL), appears again in Obv. 21 in connection with *hurâšu*, with which compare the expression, *hurâšu iḫzu*, 'gold setting', Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 124. A meaning akin to 'fastening, adornment, embossment' would seem to suit the context in both cases, and this would also agree with the meaning of *mar* (variant for *gar*), 'to enclose, emboss', Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, 82. *nenni* may be treated as a helping word. **tal-li* is evidently plural, cf. **tal-li šu-nu-ti*, 'these *talli*', Obv. 26, Rev. 6, 15. The word is not of frequent occurrence (see Muss-Arnolt, *DAL* 1156b), and its meaning is uncertain. The *talli* seem to have constituted the votive offering that Ashurbanipal made for Ningal and on them the inscription was written, cf. Rev. 22. The meager description that is given would suggest that they were arks on which the goddess was carried in state to and from her temple, cf. Martin, who suggests the meaning 'niche, trône portatif.' **is*SUĜ-NA, cf. **is*KU-SUĜ, Meissner, *SAI* 8134. For the pronunciation of the sign GU + GU = SUĜ see Delitzsch, *Sum. Glossar*, 253. **ši-bu*, cf. *šibû*, 'dyed, colored,' Muss-Arnolt, *DAL* 859a, and *šipu*, 'matting, for which the leaves of the date-palm were used', *ibid.* 885b. The last two words of this line might be transliterated *iš-ši git-ma-li*, in which case the line would read, 'I had the adornment(?) of the arks(?) made of SUĜ-NA (and) precious wood'.

21. *mar-nenni ki-lal*, literally 'with embossment of weight' (see note on Obv. 19 above), which might mean 'with a heavy embossment', or 'with an accurate', or 'delicate embossment', the gold of the embossment being weighed out in the prescribed amount.

22. *pingu* is a word of rare occurrence (see Muss-Arnolt, *DAL* 814a), but its meaning, 'ornamental work', seems pretty clear.

25. *e-til-lit šamê*, cf. מִלְכֶּת הַשָּׁמַיִם. Jer. 44. 18, 19. For the restoration of the end of the line cf. *šu-pu-tum ka-rit-tum* *ilat Ištar*, K. 3464 Obv. 22 (Craig, *Religious Texts*, 66).

27. The restoration is based on the fact that the gods Sin and Shamash are mentioned several times in the text and

Shamash is included in the invocation a few lines below this, Rev. 3. Hence Sin would be expected here.

REVERSE

2. In place of *lis-ku-na* Martin reads *liš-ku-na*, but the former agrees better with the context.

4. *ed-da-meš* = *šāti*, as against Martin's reading, *ûmê arkûti*. Martin, following Craig, omits the preposition *ina* at the beginning of the line.

5. Martin's reading *u-ma-i-raš-šu* is altogether wrong. For the restoration cf. *ši-pir šu-a-tu in-na-ḫu-ma ma-ḫit-ti i-raš-šu-u*, 81-6-7, 209, line 37.

6. Martin reads incorrectly *ši-pir-šu*. For the reading *ḫâtê^{dual}-ia* cf. Rev. 13.

8. Martin translates the line correctly, but fails to restore it as it ought to read. For *uš* he reads *šu*.

9. Martin restores *šir-ti* at the end of the line, but there is room for only one sign and that is naturally *ia* as suggested by *ti-ik-li-ia* in the next line; cf. also *bêlti-ia*, Rev. 17.

10. In place of *liš-ḫu-[ul* Martin has *liz-zik-[kir*, arbitrarily reading *zik* for *ḫu* in the belief that the context requires it. The change is unnecessary and unwarranted. The sign is clearly *ḫu*.

16. Martin curiously translates this line, 'Qui appliquerait son habilité à cette oeuvre'.

17. The sign next to the last Craig, followed by Martin, reads incorrectly *tu* instead of *la*.

19. The word *ganûnu* is rare (see Muss-Arnolt, *DAL* 227b, and Meissner, *SAI* 3781). Its meaning is clearly 'mind, life', parallel to *balâti* in the second half of the line. Martin reads *taḫ-sil-šu*, which, due to the interchange of *l* and *s*, he says, stands for *taḫ-sis-šu* 'son âme'. The simpler reading, *ga-nun-šu*, would seem preferable.

EASTERNERS IN GENOA

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OF ALL THE ITALIAN CITIES of the Middle Ages, Genoa, at the first glance, holds for the historian only a secondary interest. Of the three or four which have affected the currents of communication between East and West, Genoa has always given precedence to her more imposing rival of the Adriatic. Yet in the history of the Mediterranean from antiquity to the present day Genoa has played a more consistently significant role than cliff-bound Amalfi, Pisa long since barred by wastes of sand from the sea, or even Venice, till so recently peacefully sleeping amid splendid memories. The Genoese harbor even more to modern Italy than to medieval Lombardy, Liguria and Provence is an international commercial port. While I do not question the judgment of history, still my interest in Genoa of the middle ages has led me to believe that the history of the city offers unusual opportunities for the study of many medieval problems; the almost unbroken continuity of the civic records enables the student to walk down highways of history through many centuries; the richness of the archives opens vistas of medieval life from fixed points that are at once the despair and well-nigh irresistible temptation of the hurried student from this side of the sea.

The hundreds of thousands of entries made by the notaries of the commune in the archives constitute one of the richest and least explored fields of investigation for the historian.¹ Those brief and simple records of transactions between individuals, if perused carefully and long, sweep the reader far back into the everyday life of a great city of the medieval world. The final impression after weeks of perusal is much the same as that resulting from constant reading of a daily newspaper in a

¹For a description of the notaries' records and bibliography see my article, 'Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1916, p. 130, note 1.

foreign capital with wide international interests. Slaves, laborers, sea-captains, merchants, nobles, kings, emperors and popes not only pass across the view, but their ambitions, personal, political and commercial, slowly take form. After months of this work the student longs to converse with the men whose movements from year to year have occupied his attention. Recently, owing to the lack of new material from Genoa, I have gone back over the documents available and have made an attempt to learn what I could of the individuals who played leading roles in the trade between Genoa and the Levant in the 12th century. The purpose of this paper is to present to a society whose interests include the history of the relations between East and West, the meager results of some of these researches into the personalities of the Levantine trade.

Through her relations with Byzantium, Venice had won in the 11th century an enviable commercial position in the Levant, but Genoa's opportunity for commercial expansion was coincident with the Crusades. The connection with the Church and participation in the crusading movement fostered by the Church served the Genoese a double purpose. Through the alliance with the bishops the commune gained independence of the feudal powers in Liguria and won a share in the extension of the power of Christendom to the east. The twelfth century marks then a period of transition in Genoese history in which most of the lines of future development both eastern and western were laid down. In the field of politics, Genoa not only established her independence *de facto* but *de jure* as well. Hastening to encircle her meager landed wealth by a protecting wall, she could proudly inform Barbarossa that she owed nothing to the Empire: by her efforts from Rome to Barcelona the sea was made safe, and every man could rest under his vine and fig-tree, a task the Empire itself had not accomplished with a yearly expenditure of 10,000 silver marks.² The struggle with Pisa for dominance in this western sea was begun. To be sure the Pisan taunt of 1195 was in a sense justified: *meretrices, uxores Venetum, adhuc ausi estis ire per mare? si de cetero vultis ire per mare,*

² 'Annales Ianuenses, anno 1158,' Belgrano edition, 1, p. 50 (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicate dall' Istituto Storico Italiano*, Rome, 1890, vol. 1).

*abiciite ferrum, relinquite arma, et ite sicuti mulieres vadunt, alioquin vobis nasos incidemus!*³ Yet a generation later no Pisan would have dared such an affront. In the field of trade, the Genoese threw their nets wide during this century. Like the spokes of a huge half wheel, the sea-routes radiated from the city to the great marts of the Levant, from Byzantium to Alexandria, to African ports from Alexandria to Ceuta in the west. Two Moorish towns in Spain were plundered. Southern France paid tribute in trade. Majorca, Sicily and Sardinia were exploited, while in the Levant rich colonies supplied the basis of a trade in eastern wares that made Genoa the distributing point for luxuries to a half of Europe and the exporting center of the cloth trade of the west.

In still another way, the twelfth century was a period of transition in Genoa. Previous to the first crusade the Genoese had been dependent for eastern goods, grudgingly enough, on their rivals in part, but still more so upon Syrians, Jews, Byzantines,—Levantines all, who for so many centuries had supplied the whole west with precious Oriental wares. It is precisely at this transitional point in the century, when the Genoese were endeavoring to secure for themselves the control of this Levantine trade, to take it out of the hands of those who had so long controlled it, that I wish my readers to catch one of those glimpses of which I have spoken above. The activities of Levantines in the west up to the period of the Crusades is one of those medieval problems upon which documents have seemed to throw but little light. Brehier, in his stimulating work *Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen-Âge*, following Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande*, has pointed out the great facts for the earlier centuries, behind which it is difficult to go. Jules Gay's less well known book, *L'Italie Meridionale et l'Empire Byzantine*, has a fine chapter on the problem for southern Italy.⁴ It is my belief that

³ *Ibid.* 2, pp. 54-5.

⁴ Scheffer-Boichorst, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 4. 520-550, Innsbruck 1885. Brehier covers the period from the fifth to the eighth century, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12. 1-39, Leipsic, 1903. Chapter 9 of Gay's work, Paris, 1904. Cf. also James Westfall Thompson, 'The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century,' *Journal of Political Economy*, November, 1915, pp. 884-7.

by patient study of the notarial documents of Genoa and the towns of southern France whose records are extant, still more may be brought forth. It can be done by painstaking effort in close observation of the activities of individual merchants year by year, of their associates in trade, of the character of the oaths they take or refuse to take. The writers whom I have mentioned have shown that colonies of Levantines existed in most of the commercial centers of the west previous to the Crusades. If so, some traces of them should exist in the 12th and 13th centuries when the Occidentals were at last displacing them. The difficulties are great but not insuperable. Genoa offers a suitable field of experiment in the twelfth century. The records are fairly continuous after 1154; and this was the very period when the struggle between the Levantines and the Genoese must have occurred, if at all.

When the curtain is lifted in the decade 1154-64, for then the notarial records begin, the trade between Genoa and the East is all but the monopoly of a small group of five families of high political influence and of landed wealth. Their monopoly in Syria was secured by their control of the government of the commune and of the administration of the colonies in Syria, which was entirely in the hands of one of these leading families for nearly a full century under feudal contract. In Byzantium the control is less evident due to the as yet unstable character of the Genoese position there. In Alexandria the monopoly apparently could not be exercised because no colony existed, and only the Genoese end of the trade could be controlled, and that but partially. Next in importance to this group of merchant-nobles, however, and seemingly dating from an earlier period, was an interesting group of men whom I believe to be fair types of the sort of merchants who had dominated the trade before the advent of the Genoese leaders,—Syrians, Jews and Byzantines whose power was waning fast and who were finally displaced at the point I have chosen for this paper.

Perhaps the most important of these was a Jew, known as Soliman of Salerno, whence he had come at an earlier date to be domiciled in Genoa, though whether or not he was a native of Salerno does not appear. For many years he was a power in the Alexandrian trade. Twice he went to Alexandria, the first time in 1156 when he remained there for nearly two years,

during which time his wife Eliadar continued his commercial operations.⁵ On this voyage he carried large sums in sea-loans for various Genoese, in which they bore the risk while he profited by the use of the money though at heavy interest. Just before his departure he commissioned an agent to collect a large sum of money owed him in Spain.⁶ Upon his return he bought a piece of land in Genoa with a house and its contents for 100 l., and opened a long series of contracts in 1158 with a group of factors for the distribution of the Oriental wares he had brought back, in Sicily, Africa, Majorca and Spain.⁷ In the next year he bought a ship with two others, both foreigners and one a Saracen, which he equipped and personally conducted to Alexandria in 1160, again carrying large sea-loans for Genoese.⁸ He was absent about a year and upon his return had attained the height of prosperity. The notary came to his house to record his transactions, unusual except with the highest of the city; he had a *curia*, a notary of his own probably as secretary; agents of Saracen powers in Africa came to his house to negotiate loans of money or sales of spices.⁹ His ships and factors were plying the seas. A marriage was arranged between his daughter and a member of the mighty Mallone family, one of the great houses of the period, for which alliance Soliman paid down 192½ lire, a dowry far above what the Mallone could have asked of one of their own rank.¹⁰ Then as was the case with so many of his race in the middle ages there came some sort of a crash. Whether he lost favor with the great families who had used his knowledge of Alexandria for their own profit, or whether he suffered financial reverses is not clear. At any rate the dowry was returned to him by the Mallone; it formed the only investment he was able to make in 1163, while just previous to the disappointment, if such it was, he had pawned some silver cups and furred mantles to a Saracen friend. In

⁵ 'Atti del Notaio Giovanni Scriba,' in *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, vol. 6, (henceforth cited as *Ch[artarum] II*), Turin, 1853, nos. 337, 339, 342, 446, 591.

⁶ *Ibid.* no. 338.

⁷ *Ibid.* nos. 642, 639, 645-6, 655-6, 701, 714-19, 732.

⁸ *Ibid.* nos. 795, 828, 877, 920.

⁹ *Ibid.* nos. 1072, 1183-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* no. 1276. A fair dowry at this period in marriage contracts among the nobility was 100 lire, *Ch. II, passim*.

1164 he paid a paltry debt of 6 lire, witnessed a single contract, and is lost to sight.¹¹ For nearly ten years in full view he served his betters, aided them in the field of trade he knew so well, lost a great alliance, and sank into obscurity.

Even more picturesque in his prosperity and fall was another Jew, also Solomon by name, but called Blancardo. For twenty years he was a leading figure on the Genoese *piazze*, a resource for many foreign traders passing through the city; since there were few markets in the Mediterranean where his name was not known. His brother and nephew assisted him in many of his operations, often leaving Genoa in his interest, where he remained throughout.¹² Blancardo was a well known money-lender, a dealer in cloth on a wholesale basis; and he was the financial resource of a host of itinerant merchants, men of no local note, foreigners, non-Christians in some instances, who were not to be required to take an oath upon fulfilling his contracts abroad, men whose meaningless names appear but once or twice in a decade among his many transactions.¹³ He exported large quantities of cloth of various sorts to Syria and elsewhere;¹⁴ his factors and loans were sent to St. Gilles, Montpellier, Pisa, Salerno, Bougia, Seville, Sardinia and Alexandria, carrying eastern cotton and linens through the west, Flemish, French and Italian cloth of wool, fur-trimmed cloaks, alum and hides.¹⁵ In Genoa he owned a shop operated in his name by obscure men and their wives for several years.¹⁶ Blancardo's operations were marked by great shrewdness and caution. While his brother and nephew were given wide latitude in their movements abroad, the itinerant merchants with whom he dealt were held to stricter terms than was usual at this time, and occasionally were instructed to hold themselves ready for directions by letter or agent of Blancardo.¹⁷ He had none of the assurance of Soliman of Salerno. A lurking fear seems to pervade his movements.

¹¹ *Ibid.* nos. 1276, 1319, 1322-4, 1184, 1391, 1500.

¹² *Ibid.* nos. 859, 1079, 1129.

¹³ For example, *ibid.* nos. 857, 859, 866, 867, 883, 897, 898, 944, 946, 1069, etc.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* nos. 414, 857, 897.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* nos. 883, 1002, 1025, 1065, 1153.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* nos. 946, 1079.

¹⁷ For example, *ibid.* nos. 1153, 1181, 1257.

The prosperous year 1160 marked a high point in Blancardo's career. In that year his investments abroad aside from his brother's which were contributory to his own, amounted to 1118 lire.¹⁸ This was a huge sum for the period, equal to the investments of the greatest of the landed class. The consular family de Ita in that year welcomed a matrimonial alliance with Blancardo's niece; her dowry was 237 lire, considerably higher than that so unsuccessfully given by Soliman of Salerno for an alliance with an even more important family.¹⁹ About this time Blancardo became the informal business agent for the d'Oria family whose international fame of later epochs was now being founded on twelfth century investments.²⁰ His wide experience, of long years too since he now had a great-niece of marriageable age,²¹ his wealth and far-reaching associations must have been of value to one of the greatest of Genoese families. But these high connections did not prevent his downfall when their purpose was achieved. Blancardo loaned large sums to the debt-laden commune at rates injudiciously high. In 1178 Archbishop Ugo della Volta, a member of whose family, be it noted, had been partially responsible for one of the loans, sentenced the estate of the recently deceased Blancardo to pay 1050 lire to the state, an amount almost equal to his total investments in a prosperous year. The prelate was actuated by the best of motives since he claimed to be informed on good authority that on his deathbed Blancardo had renounced usury.²² What pressure had been brought to bear upon the old man we are not told, nor whether the loans had even been repaid by the commune. An imposing figure in this period of transition had succumbed in death to the rising commercial leaders.

Another striking personage of Oriental origin in Genoa at this time was a Syrian, whether Christian or Jewish I cannot say; his name was Ribaldo di Saraphia (obviously a corruption of Saffuriya, just north of Nazareth, visited by Benjamin of

¹⁸ The sum of all his investments given in the *Atti* for that year.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 922, 954.

²⁰ *Ibid.* nos. 1296, 1304.

²¹ *Ibid.* no. 1194.

²² *Ibid.* nos. 1168-9; *Liber Jurium I* (*Hist. Patr. Mon.* VII), no. 317.

Tudela²³). For a full decade his movements can be traced back and forth across the Genoese scene even to Syria and to the west again. He was a favorite witness to contracts in which Levantine names appear, and eventually he became a patriarchal figure, the tutor and administrator of the estates of innumerable minors with eastern connections. Probably born in Syria, long resident in Genoa where he was possessed of real estate, from his youth familiar with commercial conditions in his native and adopted lands, he may be regarded as a fair type of those Levantines who had maintained the flow of intercourse between East and West for centuries. His methods differ interestingly from those of his contemporaries with whom we are concerned.

Like Soliman of Salerno, but unlike Blancardo, eastern wares were the real basis of his trade. Unlike either of them, his own means were insufficient to make him a successful competitor of the rising Genoese traders, so he capitalized his patriarchal qualities, maybe facilitated by the customs of one of the eastern races, for if not a Jew he was on unusual terms with the Jews and other foreigners in Genoa, and utilized the estates of his (so-called) nephews so successfully that he was for long a great financial power in the eastern trade.²⁴ In 1155 he sent a factor to Syria from Sicily, and two years later himself went to Syria for a year, accompanied by this factor and one of his young wards.²⁵ The factor apparently remained in the East, perhaps as Ribaldo's agent. A little later the same young nephew, now trained in Ribaldo's knowledge, with the benefits of the earlier voyage in Ribaldo's company at his disposal, turned over all of his own and his younger brother's property to Ribaldo, formed

²³ *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, edited by Adler, London, 1907, p. 28 (Asher's edition, p. 44).

²⁴ In 1155 he apparently had only 50 lire in operation, *Ch. II*, no. 267. For his success as an administrator of the estates of women and minors, *ibid.* nos. 283, 334, 394, 397, 769, 770, 777, 824, 865, 899, 1001, 1017, 1018-9; he was often a witness for Soliman of Salerno, *ibid.* nos. 338-40, 342; was on intimate terms with Blancardo, *ibid.* nos. 414, 865, 944, 1015, 1075; often appeared in connection with Buongiovanni Malfigliastro (for whom see below), *ibid.* nos. 290, 295, 304, 305, 310, 312, 369, 735, 760-2; witness or agent for other Jews and foreigners, 769, 961-2, 1075, 1457, 1508.

²⁵ *Ibid.* nos. 267, 335, 414, 419.

a partnership with him, and went to Syria with a fund of nearly 700 lire in his charge.²⁶ Ribaldo meantime had taken on as a western agent a non-Christian known as Stabilis who first appeared in Genoa about 1150 as a money-lender. Stabilis acted as Ribaldo's factotum in the distribution of Oriental wares throughout the West. In Ribaldo's name, with his capital and such of his own as he was able to accumulate, Stabilis employed factors who carried their goods through the entire region of Genoese activity.²⁷ Ribaldo's personal attention was given to the Syrian business in which he proved useful to the political faction then in power in Genoa and bent on making the most of the Syrian commerce. They sold to him a share in the debt owed the state by the Embriaco family for the unpaid rental of the Genoese colony of Gibelletum leased to the Embriaco for twenty-nine years.²⁸ What advantage he reaped by having this most powerful family of Oûtre-Mer in his debt does not appear, nor do the documents disclose the rest of his career. The faction with which he had identified himself more or less fell from power most dramatically in 1164, and in the general confusion of the next four years Ribaldo is lost to view.

One more varied type and this twelfth century group is complete. So far none of these Levantines had succeeded in doing more than holding his own against the rising native merchants. The last one I shall discuss accomplished a little more; he founded a family in Genoa.²⁹ His name was Buongiovanni Malfigliastro. An elusive figure, probably from Byzantium, where his son was a vassal of the Emperor,³⁰ his heaviest investments were in Sicily and Alexandria, the basis of his wide-spread trade which penetrated even to regions not frequented by the Genoese, Asia Minor and Dalmatia.³¹ Wealthy, a heavy money

²⁶ *Ibid.* nos. 865, 899, 907.

²⁷ *Lib. Jur.* I, no. 154; *Ch.* II, nos. 1140-1, 867, 961, 968, 1052, 1117, 1135, 1150, 1182, 1193, 1233, 1455.

²⁸ *Ch.* II, no. 1180; *Lib. Jur.* I, no. 197.

²⁹ Cf. Canale, *Nuova Istoria della Repubblica di Genova*, Florence, 1860, 2. 675-6.

³⁰ *Ch.* II, no. 1208.

³¹ *Ibid.* nos. 351, 445.

lender,³² (he loaned money to the canons of San Lorenzo for the purchase of vestments in Sardinia at 25% for a few months), owning land, mills, olive and fig orchards in Genoa, he contracted matrimonial alliances for his children with the ancient Visconti family, with the Castagna recently arrived in Genoa from the Polcevera, who had Jewish affiliations, and founded a branch of the Genoese nobility.³³ During and after the Third Crusade the Malfigliastro were prominent ship-owners, very active in the Syrian trade.³⁴ Ultimately they won official rank and figured in Genoese public life. The founder of the family had done well.

These are a few of the men who composed what might be designated as the old régime in the Genoese trade with the Levant. They were undoubtedly the leaders in what presents some of the aspects of a small but important colony of Orientals in Genoa such as existed in most of the important commercial centers of the West all through the early middle ages. Their mutual relations were largely confined to witnessing each other's contracts; only occasionally did they form partnerships among themselves. Fully cognizant of each other's activities, they pursued their individual courses, loaning money to the native merchants when called upon, carrying loans for them to the East at a profit to both, yet fighting the last battle in a commercial struggle that was already lost, since even in this period their investments were being surpassed by those of the new leaders, the Genoese nobles who saw in the Levant trade opportunities which experience and power at home would make their own once they had mastered the difficulties so well understood by their older rivals. About these Levantine merchants in Genoa swarmed a host of foreigners of strange names, as factors, servants and witnesses, a shifting group of itinerant peddlers whose movements cannot be followed for more than a single voyage.

³² *Ibid.* nos. 320, 333, 402, 445, 448, 460-1, 528, 632, 680, 735, 737, 751, 758, 797, 808. His name appears more than 100 times in the *Atti* of Giovanni Scriba.

³³ *Ibid.* nos. 707, 1202.

³⁴ *Archivio di Stato di Genova, Atti del Notaio Lanfranco*, parte I, folios 93 verso, 95, 131, 134, 136 verso.

That they represent the old order is even clearer after the Third Crusade. The reorganization of the Syrian colonies upon their re-establishment following the successful reaction against Saladin's conquests brought about a rapid and intensive development of the Genoese trade in Syria. In this new extension it was the native Genoese merchants who assumed control in the Syrian field. The struggle against Venice in Constantinople and the Black Sea was unsuccessful for another eighty years. Circumstances have prevented my pursuance of the Alexandrian trade; there it is barely possible other conditions prevailed although I find no evidence of them.

It would seem that about the middle of the twelfth century the transition was all but completed by which the Genoese had mastered the details of the Levantine trade, after tolerating and making good use of the experienced and gifted Orientals as long as was necessary. The great voyages at the close of the century, undertaken almost annually, in some instances biennially, were many times richer than those previous to the Third Crusade. The swift expansion after 1189 drew from ancient hoards money easily, promisingly and safely invested in the eastern trade. The voyages involved hundreds of investors great and small; long lists of men and women whose names and deeds stamp them as Ligurian, with what Byzantine, Syrian or Jewish origins one cannot say.

The century of transition had passed too in other fields. Political power, the basis of commercial power, had to be fought for by the nobles as never before in the face of the quasi-democratic movement that began with the overthrow of the dominant della Volta faction in 1164, advanced a step with the overthrow of the consulate and erection of the first podestate in 1190, proceeded to the revolution of 1257 with the emergence of the *capitano del popolo*, and culminated in the popular doges of the fourteenth century. In all these changes commercial power in the East was an issue. In the course of the struggle Venice was defied and Pisa overwhelmed. Out of it emerged the Genoese folk, a commercial-minded folk as they have remained to this day. The dream of maritime empire which led the della Volta faction to its fall in 1164 was only deferred a century, never lost. It was in the minds of the very group which learned its

first lessons under the example of men such as I have here so briefly sketched.

The century of transition therefore seems to me a significant epoch in the history of Genoa's relations with the Levant. Is it not also a scene in the medieval drama that is not without a broader meaning? Were these Levantine merchants, men of power, resource, success and misfortune, not typical of the 'dark age' in the West preceding the Crusades—the age in which they and their kind served to lighten the economic burden of centuries?

A PRE-SARGONIC INSCRIPTION ON LIMESTONE FROM WARKA

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THE REMARKABLE TABLET presented in this number came into possession of the writer in 1916, and is reported to have been found on the site of ancient Erech, in Southern Babylonia, in 1913. It consists of gray, soft, consolidated limestone, measuring 15 cm. in length, 12 cm. in width, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. in thickness, and weighing nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. It is covered on the obverse and part of the reverse with engraved dividing lines and archaic Sumerian characters, the latter indicating a period as remote as the first dynasty of Kish, i. e. before 3000 B. C.

When first acquired its surface was almost entirely covered with an incrustation of salt. This deposit was, in places, as much as a centimeter thick and made decipherment impossible. It was removed by slow solution in fresh water and, though it had considerably corroded the upper left hand obverse of the tablet, very little of the inscription has been lost, as will be seen from the photograph and the transliteration.

Unfortunately, in addition to the damage done by the salts and friction, some pieces were early chipped from the right hand side and the last lines on the lower edge, making uncertain, among other things, the name of a patesi in the last case of col. IV.

To assist scholars interested in Sumerology, the photographic plates have been supplemented by exact silver-print reproductions of these, checked by the signs as they appear on the original tablet in the best light. For convenient reference, numbers have been inserted in each of the groups or cases on these silver-print reproductions.

It should be remarked that, contrary to the custom of writing Babylonian tablets, the last column of the obverse is not continued on the last column of the reverse, but on its first or left hand column. This may have been due to the shape of the stone and uneven width of the right side, but it is not impossible that

the reverse contains a different inscription from the obverse. In any case the inscription is not complete, for, after patesi in case 43, we should expect the name of the city and, after case 47, other particulars.

The document has been given a Sumerian transliteration for convenience, though it is probable that it is Semitic, as it corresponds with the Obelisk of Manishtusu; as to Kish, its place of origin, as to a number of its names such as Nani, Zuzu, Subsub (transliterated Makmak by me), and those beginning with Rabe, and as to the expression *SA** with numerals, cf. *Del. en Perse*, 2, Obelisk of Manishtusu, col. II 8, 10.

The inscription is interesting not only paleographically but also philologically. It is one of the most ancient business documents known containing records of the sale of, and payments for, a number of fields by various individuals. Thus it may be regarded as an ancient list of title deeds. It should be compared to *CT* 32. 7 and 8.

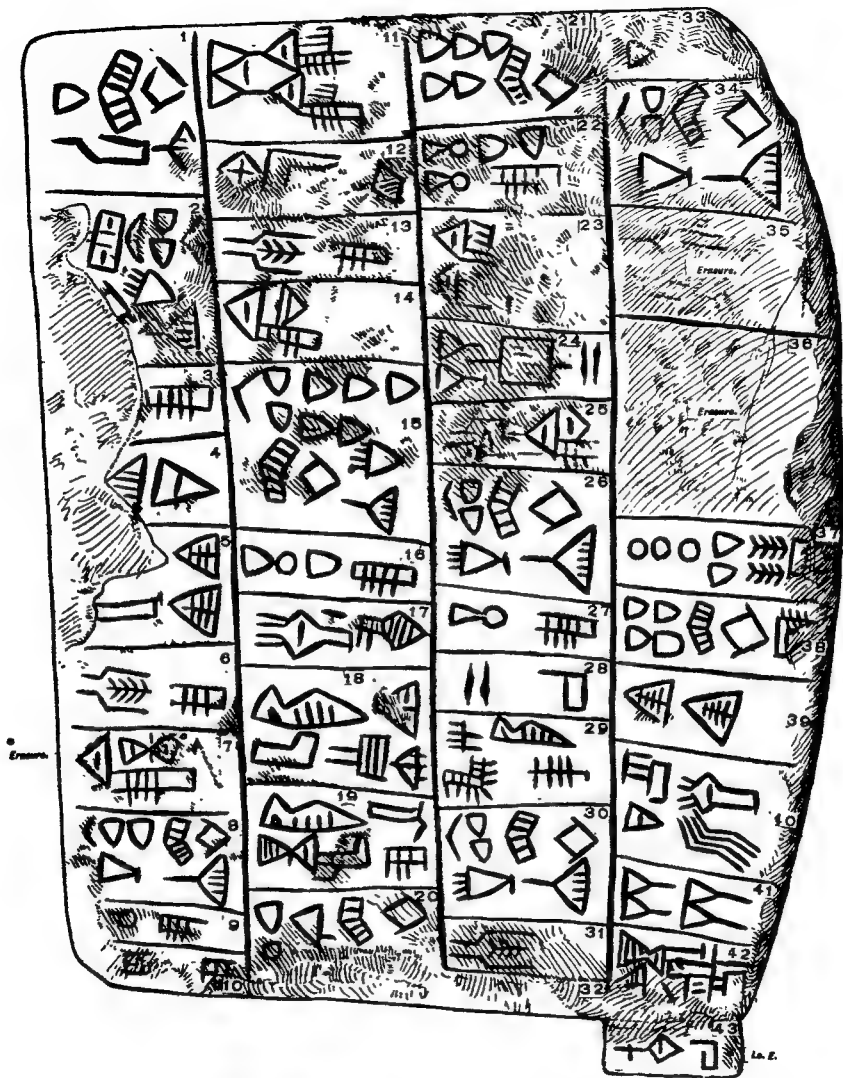
As the tablet and its reproduction, together with a transliteration, translation, and notes are given, nothing more need be said at this point, except that the author has made the attempt to elucidate this inscription with extreme diffidence.

TRANSLITERATION¹

- 1 1 MA-NA KUBABBAR 2 [Û]² 2/3 (GÎN?) KUBAB-
BAR³ ŠA-NA⁴
- 3 —————⁵ GÂN 4 [N]A⁶-NI 5 [U]R?-ZU-ZU⁷
- 6 ŠAM-GÂN 7 KÛ⁸
- 8 2/3 (MA-NA) KUBABBAR ŠA⁹-NA 9 1/3? (BÛR)
GÂN (= 600 ŠAR)^{9a}
- 10 Illegible¹⁰ 11 DUMU MAK-MAK¹¹
- 12 KIŠ^{ki12} 13 ŠAN GÂN 14 KÛ
- 15 2/3 (MA-NA?) + 5 (GÎN?) KUBABBAR ŠA-NA
- 16 1/3 + 1/18 BÛR GÂN¹³ (= 600 + 100 ŠAR) 17 BÊ-RÛ-
USAN¹⁴
- 18 LÛ-ZU URU-UM^{ki15} 19 LÛ-KAL-ÎL GÂN¹⁸
- 20 2½ (MA-NA?)¹⁷ KUBABBAR 21 5 (GÎN?) KUBAB-
BAR¹⁸
- 22 1/3 + 1/3 + 1/18 + 1/36 BÛR GÂN (= 1200 + 100 +
50 ŠAR)¹⁹

* See note 4.

OBVERSE

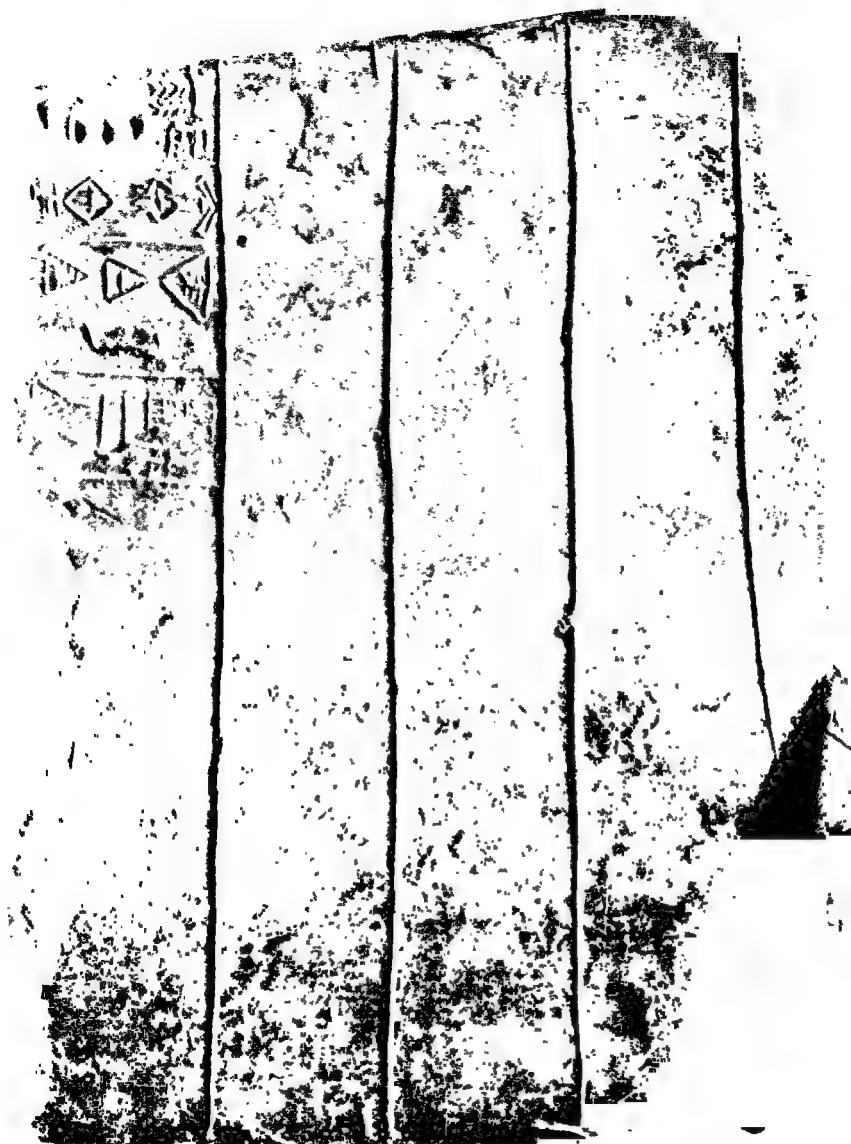


Archaic Inscription in the J. B. Nies Collection



Archaic Inscription from Babylonia in the J. B. Nies Collection, Brooklyn, N. Y.

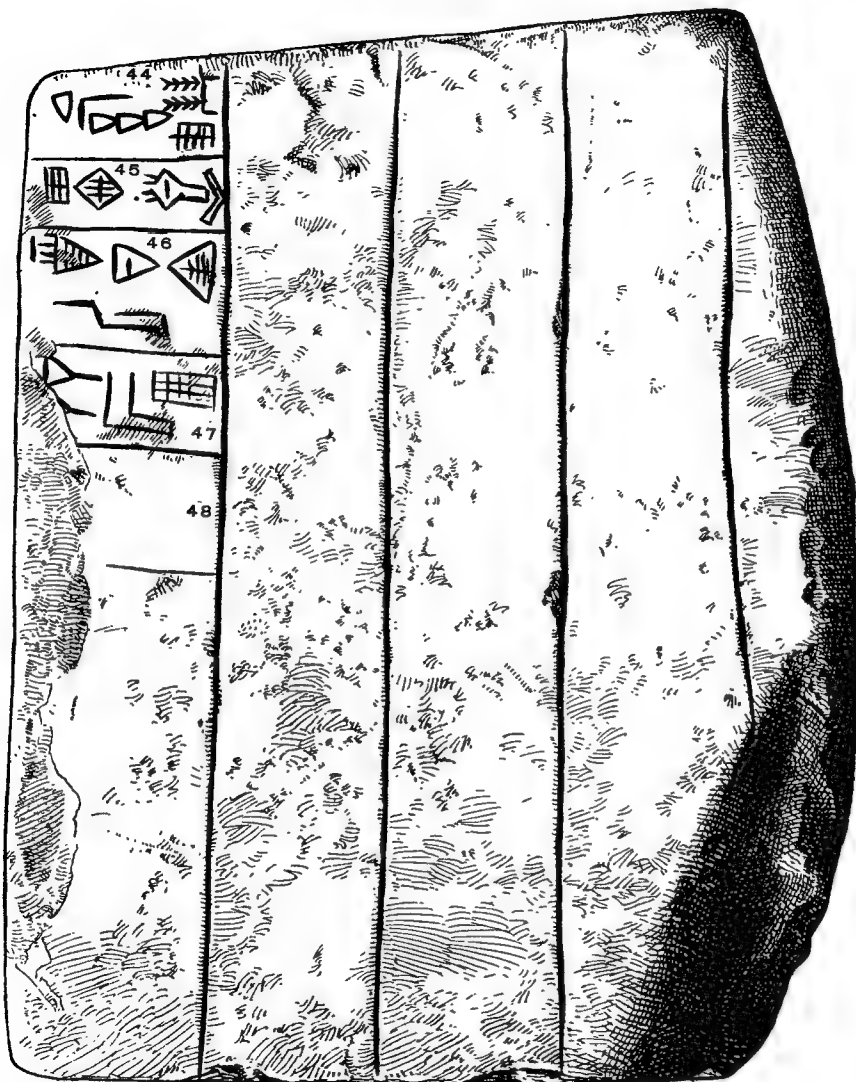
OBVERSE



Archaic Inscription from Babylonia in the J. B. Nies Collection, Brooklyn, N. Y.

REVERSE

REVERSE



Archaic Inscription in the J. B. Nies Collection



- 23 MAK-MAK²⁰ 24 DUMU AG-A 25 [ŠAM GĀN] KŪ²¹
 26 2/3 (MA-NA) KUBABBAR ŠA-NA 27 1/3 BŪR GĀN²²
 28 A-SI²³ 29 LUGAL EN-NUN²⁴
 30 2/3 (MA-NA) KUBABBAR ŠA-NA 31 ŠAM [GĀN]²⁵
 32 Name broken²⁶ 33 DU-[MU] Eroded and broken
 34 2/3 (MA-NA) KUBABBAR ŠA-NA 35 Erased²⁷ 36
 Erased
 37 3 (BŪR) and 2 ŠAR²⁸ 38 4 KUBABBAR GĪN²⁹
 39 ZU-ZU³⁰ 40 RA-BÉ-ZAL-LUM 41 TUR-TUR 42
 IL-ZU-UG³¹
 43 PA-TE-SI³² 44 50-3 ŠAR GĀN³³
 45 SĪG HAR ERĪM³⁴ 46 GA-NI-ZU-MA 47 DUMU
 UR-LIL

TRANSLATION

- 1 One mina of silver 2 [a]nd 2/3 (shekel?) of standard silver
 (for) 3 ——— fields. 4 Nani 5 [son of U]r?-zuzu
 6 for the price of the fields 7 has been satisfied (i. e. paid in full).
 8 2/3 (mina) of standard silver (for) 9 1/3? BŪR of land
 10 ——— 11 son of Makmak 12 of Kish 13
 for the price of the field 14 has been satisfied.
 15 2/3 (mina? and) 5 (shekels?) of standard silver (for)
 16 1/3 + 1/8 BŪR of land (= 600 + 100 ŠAR) 17 Berusan
 18 a native of Zurum 19 (and) Lukalil (sold?) the fields.
 20 2½ (mina) of silver ——— (and?)
 21 5 (shekels?) of silver (for) 22 2/3 + 1/18 + 1/36 BŪR
 of land (i. e. 1200 + 100 + 50 ŠAR)
 23 Makmak 24 son of Aga 25 [with the price of the
 fields] is satisfied.
 26 2/3 (mina) of standard silver (for) 27 1/3 of a BŪR of
 land (600 ŠAR) 28 of Asi 29 guardian king.
 30 2/3 (mina) of standard silver as 31 the price [of a field]
 32 ——— 33 son of ———
 34 2/3 (mina) of standard silver for 35 [erased] 36
 [erased]
 37 3 BŪR and 2 ŠAR (of land for) 38 4 shekels of silver
 39 (from) Zuzu (and) 40 Rabezallum 41 sons of
 42 Ilzuug 43 the ruler. 44 47 ŠAR of land of the
 45 wool tax collector 46 Ganizuma 47 son of Ur-lil

NOTES

¹ The numerical notation of this inscription is partly ordinary and partly land measure. See Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, 1. 145-6, abbreviated *BW* in this article.

² The part broken from this sign seems to have been  thus  i. e. the conjunction Û, cf. *BW* 1. 412.

³ AZAG and UD, though both mutilated, are certain.

⁴ These signs, though eroded, can be established from cases 8, 15, 26, etc. ŠA-NA is not a name. This is shown by its context in other parts of the text. It may be Semitic and mean 'exchanged.' See Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, 1068, *Šanû*, 3, 'be different, change,' but its meaning, as Professor George A. Barton in a private letter pointed out, is rather to be found in ŠA = *pidnu* *BW* 310., or *pitnu*, signifying 'current.' This word is translated 'stand' by Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.* 854, whence, as in English, the derivative 'standard,' i. e. of 'registered value.' While engaged on this paper, Dr. C. E. Keiser very kindly sent me the following in a tablet, Y. B. C. 1490; numbered 17 in his forthcoming volume of *Selected Ur Dynasty Texts*, which seems to confirm this translation:

ŠUŠANA ŠA-NA IĀ + MAŠ GĪN KUBABBAR
 AZAG ERĪM^{KI}-KA ĀŠ GĪN
 Û, AZAG URĪ^{KI} ĒŠ-GĪN + IGI-ĒŠ-GĀL (= 3 1/3 GĪN)
 ĪB-TA-ZI
 KI LÛ-GI-NA TA
 UR-GĪ-KISAL
 ŠÛ-BA-TI

Then follow names of 3 witnesses, month, and year.

Here we have evidently a group of three kinds of silver, 1st standard, 2nd of Erim^{KI}, and 3rd of Uri^{KI}, which Urgikisal borrowed from Lugina.

⁵ Numeral broken away. Cf. case 9, 16, 22, 27.

⁶ The first sign is doubtless NA and forms part of the name Nani which occurs in early and later documents.

⁷ Possibly DUMU and part of the sign UR were broken away in this case. For the name UR-ZU see Huber, *PKUN* 69. There is no doubt that the group formed a name.

⁸ It seems clear that the sign intended is KÛ from its occurrence in a similar connection in cases 14 and 25, and that it means here *zanānu* 'be full,' *BW* 38.. A careful examination of the original proved that there was an imperfect erasure of the right half of the seemingly new sign above KA.

⁹ Part of ŠA is broken away.

^{9a} The numeral may have been $\text{D} = \text{D}$ cf. cases 16 and 27.

¹⁰ The name may have been NI-LU-LU, cf. *CT* 32, 8, col. IV₄.

¹¹ DUMU proves that a name preceded. The next sign, which occurs also in case 23, is Br. 820. Streck in his *Silben- und Ideogrammliste*, p. 10, gives as its value MAK. I have transliterated the double sign MAK-MAK as this name occurs in *CT* 32, 7, col. IV₃, where the signs are written beside each other. The double sign means *šukinnu* 'homage, worship', cf. *HWB* 313.

¹² Modern *Okhaimir*, 14 kilometers east of Babylon. It is not impossible that this tablet came originally from Kish and was carried from there to Erech, in the far south, in early times, perhaps as part of spoils of war. In this case we should expect its language to be Semitic. Barton is of the opinion that it was not found in Southern Babylonia, but at *El-Okhaimir*. The Bagdad dealer who brought it to America declares it was found at Warka by his own gang of men and that there is no doubt as to its provenance. I have never known this dealer to give a wrong provenance for his tablets or antiquities, and this has also been the experience of others. The tablet in *CT* 32, pls. 7 and 8, from Dailem, which has been in the British Museum since 1882, was probably found by Rassam at *Dilhim*, a mound about 18 kilometers south of Hilla, the site of ancient Dilbat. King, *Hist. of Babylon*, 141, note, states that all tablets from there belong to the 1st Dynasty, but this inscription is evidently an exception.

¹³ $\text{D} = \text{D}$ = compound $\text{D} = 1/3 \text{ B} \ddot{\text{U}}\text{R}$ or 600 ŠAR as it precedes 1/18 $\text{B} \ddot{\text{U}}\text{R}$ or 100 ŠAR .

¹⁴ This is a name. If — is the sign RUM or RÛ and the last sign is USAN (cf. *BW* 1. 285) it reads BÉ-RÛ-USAN. The names UR-USAN-LÁ and NIN-USAN-ZI occur. See Huber, *Personennamen*, 143, note 3, and p. 170, note 8. The strokes under USAN look like archaic A, but compare the form of this sign in Reisner, *Urkunden*, 99, I₁₂.

¹⁵ The second sign in this case, though imperfect, is either SU or ZU, very likely the latter. The last sign is KI, distorted for lack of room. We have then a descriptive title that can be rendered either as 'a man of Zurum,' or 'a wise man of Urum^{ki}.'

¹⁶ In case 19 we appear to have another descriptive title, LÛ-KAL-ĪL, but it may be a name. The second sign, in this archaic form, is new. On account of its resemblance to an adze or pick-ax it may be AL = *allu*, (the name LU-AL occurs in *RTCh* 336, reverse 3), but more probably it is archaic KAL. The third sign is ĪL, cf. *CT* 32, 7, III₈, and 32, 8, col. II and III. From the groups ending with cases 7, 14, and 25 we should have expected ŠAM GAN KÛ to follow.

¹⁷ On the tablet it can be seen that 𐎶𐎵 is the numeral 𐎶𐎶 . The lower edge is here worn and broken and it is possible 𐎶 , as in case 2, may have connected this and the following case.

¹⁸ ŠA-NA is omitted but understood.

¹⁹ As in case 16 𐎶𐎶 is an early form for 𐎶 : $\text{NER} \times 2 = 1200$.

²⁰ Salts a centimeter deep covered this and the two following cases. When removed it was found that the stone had been eaten away. Enough remains, however, to make the reading of all but one or two signs certain. The name Mak-Mak is the same as appears in case 11. There he is the father of ———; here he is the son of AG-A.

²¹ Enough remains in the eroded portions of this case to make it probable that the signs were ŠAM GĀN KŪ.

²² The number is $1/3$ BŪR GĀN. Cf. cases 16 and 22.

²³ ASI, it would seem, is a Semitic name. See Muss-Arnolt, p. 74.

²⁴ The sign EN is new in this form which does not favor the theory that it was derived from a hand grasping a mace. EN-NUN = *massaru* 'a guardian, treasurer,' Br. 2849. It is possible that KI is understood after NUN. (See the date formula for the 8th year of BUR-SIN.) This would give us the name of a very early king of Erech.

²⁵ ŠAM is certain, but only in the best light can traces of GĀN be seen on the tablet.

²⁶ That a name, now worn away, existed in this case can be seen from the traces of DUMU in the following line.

²⁷ It is possible that the signs in cases 35 and 36 were destroyed by the salts that covered them thickly, but it is more likely that they were anciently erased.

²⁸ ŠAR, in this case, is a land measure; in case 44 it is followed by GĀN which has been omitted here, but it is understood. The numerals should therefore be read as BŪR GĀN and not as ŠAR. For land measures see Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 189 ff.

²⁹ The silver shekels to which this case refers require the ordinary numerical notation.

³⁰ This and the three following cases contain the name of a patesi and his two sons, 'Zuzu and Rabezallum sons of fl-zu-(ug?) the patesi.' A king of Opis, named Zuzu, was conquered by Eannatum when the former came to the rescue of the city of Kish, which Eannatum had attacked. As Zuzu of our tablet is the son of a patesi, it is possible there is some historic connection. For the name Rabezallum cf. *CT* 32. 8, *IA*₇.

³¹ Case 42 is worn away considerably. This is unfortunate as it contains the name of the patesi whose reading is thus made uncertain.

³² On lower edge.

³³ This numeral presents a difficulty. According to Pre-Sargonic land measure $\mathfrak{v} = 1/36$ BŪR-GĀN or 50 ŠAR, and $\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{v} = 3 \times 1/18$ BŪR-GĀN or 300 ŠAR. Here the number is evidently 3.

³⁴ The first sign in case 45 seems to be SĪG, though it is very similar to archaic ZAG. As the sign ĤAR which follows may mean 'collect, dues, tax,' (BW 361_s) and ERĪM = *muntahṣu* 'a demander,' Br. 4606, the translation 'the wool-tax collector Ganizuma son of Urlil' would fit very well for this and the two final cases of this inscription.

Attention is called to RU, the last sign in case 45, as confirming the author's opinion, published in 1914, vol. 16. 1. of the *American Anthropologist*, that this sign originated in a pictograph of a boomerang.

NINIB-NINURTA

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THE READING of this elusive name is now placed beyond reasonable doubt, thanks to the Aramaic transliteration אַנּוּשָׁת (see especially Clay, *Amurru*, p. 195 ff.) and the statement in the Yale syllabary, l. 288, that *IB* in the name Nin-*IB* (*ša* ⁴*Nin-IB* *šu-ma*) is read *ur-ta*. The name of the god must thus be read *Ninurta*, which became, by dissimilation, **Inurta* (the dental *t* may enter in, as perhaps also in *iṇabtu* 'earring,' < **ninṇabtu* < **minṇabtu* < **maṇṇabtu*, like *nirmaktu* 'pitcher'; Delitzsch, *AG*² 180), and, by the common change of *r* to *š* before a dental, *Inušta* = אַנּוּשָׁת. There is no evidence that the character *NIN* was ever pronounced *en*, to avoid the usual feminine connotation, as has been suggested; the writing *Ninni*(50)-*IB* (Ebeling no. 31, obv. 9-10; *ZDMG* 69. 89) is against such a view. The reading *Anušaṭ* (Pognon, Thureau-Dangin, Maynard, *AJSL* 34. 29-31) is most improbable; in form it is anomalous, and at best it could not mean 'the mountain god,' as Maynard suggests. A variant ⁴*Ūr-ru-da*, mentioned by Maynard, does not exist; the passage in Ebeling, no. 12, l. 11-12, must be read (cf. Hrozný, *Ninrag*, tablet 2, 11-12) [*Nin-urta bād-ki-bal-a-gul-gul*] *a-mà-ru an-ùr-ru-da* = [*Ninurta mu'abbīt dūr mât nuk*] *urṭi abûbâniš ibâ*, 'Ninurta, who destroys the fortification of the hostile place, on the hurricane rushes' (Semitic: 'like the hurricane'). A glance at Br. 5492 and M. 3809 would have spared this mistake. However, we all make slips at times.

I am inclined to see another hint with respect to the pronunciation in Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, no. 134, col. 3, 10 ff., a section of the *ḥara-ḥubûlu*^m lexical series (see Meissner, *OLZ* 18. 136 ff.), where we have:

giš-ka-sig-ga-gišimar = *qattanātu* (*sig* = *qatnu*, etc.)

giš-ka-peš-gišimar = *napšātu* (*peš* = *napāšu*)

giš-ka-gu-la-gišimar = *urṭû*

Urṭû is a *nisbe* from *urṭu/a*, a word quite unknown in the Assyrian lexicon elsewhere, but reminding one of *Urṭu*,

Armenia, and our *Urta*. Both combinations may have their rights. The latter is particularly interesting in view of Ninurta's consort Gula. Of course, *gula* here means 'large, full,' or the like, and the idea that its Semitic equivalent is *Urṭu*, if I am correct, is an illustration of the curious methods of philological ratiocination employed by the Babylonian schoolmen, from the results of which our lexica will eventually have to be purged. I hope to treat elsewhere some of the products of this juggling with phonetic and numerical values in the cuneiform schools. The writing with *ṭ* indicates a popular etymology of the element *urta*, connecting it with *Urṭu*, Armenia. In the light of these and other facts, I will propose the following reconstruction of the name Ninurta's history, which is offered merely as a working hypothesis.

The god *NIN-IB* is intimately connected with *IB = Uraš*, identified with him *CT* 25. 11. 25. The pair *Uraš(IB)* and *Ninuraš* are mentioned among the names of *Anu^m* and *Antu^m*. Since *uraš = piristu*, as *nomen agentis* it should mean 'decider' (like *malik*), and 'prince,' or the like, a fitting name for a great god, one who held the chief position in the pantheon at Dilbat and elsewhere.

In later times *Nin-IB* assumes the place of *IB-Uraš*. It is difficult to believe that this represents a masculinization of *Uraš's* colorless consort *Nin-uraš*, whose very name may rest upon theological speculation. I am profoundly suspicious of the theories advanced by Hommel,¹ that the Sumerian gods whose names begin with *Nin* are old solar deities, who were masculinized on the analogy of *Šamaš*, who is masculine, while *شمس* is feminine, and by Clay,² that *NIN-IB* was originally feminine, but after the 'signs had been recognized as an ideogram for the name of the deity . . . the goddess became masculinized.' Clay himself (*loc. cit.*) admits that this solution is a *pis aller*. With Hommel, every coincidence is an identity, or an analogy from which causal relations may be deduced. In my opinion, it is much more probable that *nin* means both 'lord' and 'lady,' like *umun* and *gašan*; cf. also *dam* 'consort,' both 'husband' and 'wife.' This is the view

¹ Cf. *MVAG* 19. 13, note 9. The femininity of the Ea-category is equally fictitious.

² See *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, p. 98.

of Delitzsch, *SGL* 204. Sumerian cared as little for distinctions of gender as for differences of person. The explanation does not lie in the 'primitive' character of the language, as Renouf held erroneously for Egyptian, but simply in its genius, the course of development it preferred.


When Nin-uraš had occupied the place of Uraš, the theologians, to save the dualism, apparently, by a right-about-face made *IB* his consort. Hence, theoretically, *IB* = *Gula*, and *IB*'s value *urta*, felt because of the secondary *ṭ* to be Semitic, was attached to *gula*, as pointed out above.

The variants *uraš*, *urta*, and *urṭu* are apparently, in the final analysis, identical. But how are we to explain them? Thru popular etymology, if we may judge from parallels. This, moreover, must be associated with some outstanding characteristic of the deity, who was a god of war, of hunting, and of quarries and mountains. In this connection there comes to mind the late ideogram for *parzillu* 'iron,' which is the same as the ordinary ideogram for the name Ninurta, *AN-MAŠ*. Iron came to Babylonia, as to the rest of Western Asia, from the land of the Chalybes, on the confines of Armenia and Pontus, called in Babylonia *Urṭu*, by haplology for *Urartu*, אֲרָרְט.³ We may assume, then, that *urṭu* is a modification of **urdu* or **urtu*, a step which brings us to Sumerian times, when bronze and not iron was the metal used for making weapons and tools. Now, bronze is *urud(u)* in Sumerian, which by apocope of the *d*, so common in that tongue, became *uru*, whence Akkadian *uerûm* (*CT* 15. 2. 9).

Returning to *Uraš*, which we may safely postulate as the original form, we may, perhaps, suppose that it was ordinarily pronounced **Uruš* (by vocalic harmony; cf. *subar* 'servant' (ŠAH, *SGL* 287), which becomes *šubur* in the name *Nin-šubur* = *Papsukal*⁴; *pap* = 'father, chief'), which became **Uru* (just as we have *guruš* and *gur* 'cut'; *guruš* 'man,' prop. 'the stout one,' and *gur* 'fat,' = *kabru*⁵; *suḫuš* and *suḫ* 'foundation' (*SGL* 254); *duruš* and *dur*, etc.), connected by popular

³ Sumerian *Tilla* (Sb 74); the late Babylonian name is *Urašṭu*.

⁴ I expect to discuss these deities elsewhere.

⁵ For  'man' = *marû* and  = *kabru* see my forthcoming article in *AJSL* on the relation between Egyptian and Semitic.

etymology with *uru* 'bronze,' since Ninurta was the patron of war and of the quarries, and hence, to a certain extent, of metallurgy, as the *urud-lamga* (*gurgurru*),⁶ under whose direction arms and pickaxes were manufactured.

Later, in Semitic times, iron replaced bronze as the prevailing material for swords and axes (cf. *haçinu* 'axe,' which cannot be separated from Eth. *haçin* 'iron,' probably the original meaning). The priests had, meanwhile, adopted the combination of the divine name with *urud*, and, under their auspices, the name became **Ninurud* or **Ninurut*, which may have become *Ninurtu*, just as *gedim* became *etimmu*, and *gid*, *giṭṭu*. 'Bronze' was now *erû*, so the verbal association must have faded away. However, the association with metallurgy remained, so a new popular etymology was in order, which came most naturally from *Urṭu*, Armenia, whence the Babylonians imported their iron. In classical times the Chalybes were such renowned workers in iron and steel that *χάλυψ* 'hardened iron, steel,' received its name from them,⁷ just as 'copper,' *cuprum*, comes from 'Cyprus,' and perhaps Heb. נְחֹשֶׁת 'copper,' is derived from *Nuḥašše*, which Winckler has identified with the district of Chalkis south of Aleppo (*MVAG* 18. 4. 85). A thousand years before the Chalybes appear in history, their mountains bore the name Kizwadna (*op. cit.* p. 61),⁸ from which iron was exported to the rest of Western Asia. The Moschian mountains were called the *tûrâ d'parzelâ* by the Aramaeans. After the Phrygo-Moschian irruption in the twelfth century had swept over the ruins of the Hittite Empire, Pontus-Cappadocia received the name Tabal, Heb. Tûbal (which reproduces the Phoenician pronunciation). Hence iron came to Palestine, so the Hebrews made Tûbal-qajin, 'the forger of bronze and iron' (תּוֹבַל-קַיִן לֹטֵשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרָזָה) the primeval eponymous hero of metallurgists, just as the Greeks might have invented a Chalyps (תּוֹבַל קַיִן means, of course, 'Tûbal [the] smith').

⁶ See for this epithet Hrozný, *Ninrag*, tablet 12, rev. l. 19.

⁷ The reverse view is defended by Lehmann-Haupt (*Materialien*, p. 100, n. 2), who even connects *Κύκλωψ* with *χάλυψ*!

⁸ Eduard Meyer (*Die Chettiter*, p. 156), following Herzfeld's suggestion, identifies Kizwadna with Katpatuk, Cappadocia. A glance into Hommel's *GGAO*, p. 50 (cf. Meyer's estimate of this work, *GA*³ 252, note), might have spared the repetition of such a problematical etymology.

In the same way, we may suppose, Ninurta was explained either as 'Lord of Armenia,' or as 'Lord of Iron' (assuming as *nisbe* **urṭû*, the 'Armenian' metal). His association with iron is just as natural as in the case of the Anatolian Zeus, lord of the thunderbolt, and the Egyptian war-god Month (*Mntw*). The strength of the association is clear from the fact that the ideogram of the god is employed for the metal (^d*MAŠ* primarily, of course, is a title of Ninurta as 'chief,' *ašaredu*).⁹

Indirect evidence for my theory may, perhaps, be drawn from astrological considerations. Iron is regularly the metal of the planet Mars = Nergal. As, however, there is no indication that the latter was particularly connected with iron, while he is with copper (Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, no. 27, l. 8), we may assume that copper or bronze was the original metal of the tawny-red (*sâmu*) planet. Later, iron, taking the place of bronze as the symbol of war, was substituted. This shift in Nergal's metal would certainly lead one to expect a parallel shift in the metals ascribed to the patronage of the closely related Ninurta. The former view that Ninib was Mars and Nergal Saturn, instead of the reverse, is now proved to be erroneous (Kugler, *Sternkunde*, l. 220 ff.; Weidner, *OLZ* 16. 24), but Kugler and Weidner both admit the possibility of shifts. Weidner, in fact, believes that there was a regular cyclic shift in the planetary deities. Hommel (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 180) also thinks that Ninurta was originally god of Mars and Nergal of Saturn. Tho inclining to this view, I will leave the decision to experts in the tangled field of Babylonian astronomy.

⁹ The old explanation of the ideogram as the 'bar of heaven' is surely wrong, in spite of the Egyptian *bi3 n pt*, primarily meteoric iron.

ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

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ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, professor of Chinese literature at the Collège de France, died in Paris on January 29, 1918, at the age of fifty-two years. Born at Lyons on October 5, 1865, he was sent on a scientific mission to China in 1889, being attached to the French Legation at Peking till 1893. In 1893 he was appointed professor at the Collège de France, where he opened his courses with a lecture entitled 'Du Rôle social de la littérature chinoise' (published in the *Revue bleue*, 1893). In 1903 he became a member of the Institut de France. He was also directeur d'études honoraire à l'École des Hautes Études, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and an honorary member of the Société Franco-Japonaise of Paris, the Société Finno-Ougrienne, the Royal Asiatic Society, and our own Society (elected last year). His premature death is an irreparable loss to the scientific world, and will be regretted by the entire community of orientalists, for the magnitude of Chavannes' work rests on the fact that he was not merely a sinologue in the narrow, old-fashioned sense of this misused word, but an orientalist and historian of eminent learning and insight, with a broad-minded vision and unusual intellectual powers coupled with almost superhuman activity and unbounded capacity for research. Of all great sinologues whom France has produced, he was doubtless the most vigorous, the most intelligent, and the most successful. There is no branch of sinology to which he has not made profound contributions of permanent value. His memory will live, and his immense labor will bear fruit, as long as there is an oriental science in this world.

Chavannes' first literary production was 'Le Traité sur les sacrifices Fong et Chan de Se-ma Ts'ien, traduit en français,' published in the third volume of the now defunct *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* (1890). This work already displays the characteristics of the mature scholar: the tendency to open new and original resources, mastery of Chinese style,

accuracy and elegance of translation, and critical, philological treatment of the subject. This first essay matured in him the magnificent plan of elaborating a complete translation of Se-ma Ts'ien's *Shi ki*, the oldest of the twenty-four Chinese Annals. The first volume of this work, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien traduits et annotés*, appeared in Paris, 1895, with an introduction of 249 pages, which is a masterpiece of historical and critical analysis and is not surpassed by anything of this character written before or after him. Five volumes of this monumental work, consisting altogether of 3051 pages, were brought out, the last being published in 1905. The translation comprises the first 47 of Se-ma Ts'ien's 130 chapters, and is accompanied by a full commentary and indices. It is a fundamental source-book for the ancient history of China and a marvelous storehouse of erudition. There are many appendices dealing with special problems or subjects of general interest, like the essay 'Des Rapports de la musique grecque avec la musique chinoise' (3. 630).

Chavannes not only placed historical studies on a new and solid basis, but also inaugurated sound archaeological research by his volume *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han* (1893). In 1907 he paid his second visit to China, chiefly for the study of ancient monuments and inscriptions. The important results of this mission were published in a sumptuous album (*Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, 1909), consisting of 488 plates. Of the descriptive portion two volumes have thus far appeared, *La Sculpture à l'époque des Han* (1913) and *La Sculpture bouddhique* (1915). It is hoped that more of this material will be published from his posthumous papers. One of his greatest achievements is presented by the decipherment and translation of the business documents written on wood and found in Turkistan (*Les Documents chinois découverts par A. Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, Oxford, 1913). In connection with R. Petrucci he studied the Chinese paintings of the Musée Cernuschi (*La Peinture chinoise au Musée Cernuschi*, 1914); another briefer study is again devoted to Buddhist art (*Six Monuments de la sculpture chinoise*, 1914). In his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903) he gave a complete collection of all Chinese sources concerning the history of the

Western Turks and a correlation of the Chinese with all available occidental documents.

Chavannes was interested also in the great religions, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Nestorianism, and Manicheism. In 1894 he published his *Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident par I-Tsing*, which contains the biographies and travels of sixty (mostly Chinese) monks who went to India in the second half of the seventh century in search of Sanskrit books. In co-operation with S. Lévi he translated the itinerary of Wu K'ung (*Journal asiatique*, 1895). His 'Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra' appeared in the *Bulletin de l'École française* (1903). The best fruit of his labors in this field is represented by the monumental work *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois*, published in three volumes (Paris, 1910-11); a fourth volume containing notes and indices has been promised and, I believe, prepared for the press. This fine collection of Indian stories has given many a stimulus to the comparative study of folk-lore. Also his translations of the life of Guṇavarman, Jinagupta, and Seng-Hui (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, 1905, 1909), his 'Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du bouddhisme indien' and 'Les Seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi' (*JA* 1915, 1916, the two last-named in collaboration with S. Lévi) should be mentioned in this connection.

His book *Le T'ai Chan, essai de monographie d'un culte chinois* (Paris, 1910, 591 p.) is devoted to the indigenous religion of China and represents a wonderfully complete and fundamental study of an ancient mountain-cult, based on personal investigation and on all available documents both literary and epigraphical. In 1897 he contributed to the *Journal asiatique* a remarkable study on 'Le Nestorianisme et l'inscription de Kara-Balgassoun.' In collaboration with P. Pelliot he edited and translated in 1912 a Manichean treatise, written in Chinese and discovered by Pelliot in the caves of Tun-huang, Kan-su. This is perhaps the most brilliant achievement of modern sinology.

As an epigraphist, Chavannes deserves the highest praise: in this branch of research he was truly a pioneer and reformer, the

first European scholar who approached this difficult subject with sound and critical methods and undisputed success. In 1893 he published in the *Journal asiatique* a study on 'Les Inscriptions des Ts'in' (re-edited in his *Mémoires de Se-ma Ts'ien*, 2. 544). The Chinese inscriptions of Bodh-Gayā engaged his attention in two articles (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 34, 36). When Prince Roland Bonaparte edited his luxurious work *Documents de l'époque mongole*, Chavannes undertook the translation of the Chinese portion of the inscription of Kiü-yung-kuan. In 1902 the Académie des Inscriptions issued his *Dix inscriptions chinoises de l'Asie centrale*. His 'Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole' (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, 1905, 1908) contain seventy-six documents in text and translation; he was the first to penetrate successfully into the peculiar official style of the Mongol epoch. The inscriptions of Yün-nan occupied him in 'Une Inscription du royaume de Nan-tehao' (*JA* 1900), 'Quatre inscriptions du Yun-nan' (*JA* 1909), and 'Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Sylvain Charria' (*T'oung Pao*, 1906). His 'Les Deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise' (*Bull. de l'École française*, 3) is a most important contribution to the history of cartography.

The number of articles written by Chavannes is legion. Special mention may be made of his 'Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan et les Joutchen' (*JA* 1897-98), 'Les Prix de vertu en Chine' (published by the Institut de France, 1904), 'Les Livres chinois avant l'invention du papier' (*JA* 1905), 'Les Pays d'occident d'après le Wei lio' (*T'oung Pao*, 1905), 'Le Cycle ture des douze animaux,' and 'Trois généraux chinois' (*ib.* 1906), 'Les Pays d'occident d'après le Heou Han chou' (*ib.* 1907), 'Le Royaume de Wou et de Yüe' (*ib.* 1916), and 'L'Instruction d'un futur empereur de Chine en 1193' (*Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, 1. 1913). For the series *La Science française* published by L. Poincaré for the Panama-Pacific Exposition he wrote a brief sketch on the development of sinology in France. In conjunction with H. Cordier, who founded the *T'oung Pao* in 1890, he edited that Journal from 1904 onward till his departure.

BRIEF NOTES

A Hindiism in Sanskrit

We are all sufficiently familiar with the enormous extent to which the popular Indian dialects of ancient times, the Prakrit dialects in a wide sense, influenced Sanskrit and even Vedic phonology and vocabulary. Less attention has been paid to the fact that there are in late Sanskrit clear traces of similar influence from dialects in a still later stage of linguistic development—a stage so late that they can only be called modern dialects. By modern dialects I mean, of course, dialects of the same general character as Hindi, etc.

The extent of such influence is as yet wholly undetermined. So far as I am aware no systematic investigation of the question has ever been made. I know only of stray notes, some in Sanskrit lexicons, some in other places. One case is the late Sanskrit 'root' *lā* 'to take.' It is obviously connected with the common Hindi word *lenā* 'to take' (cf. also *lānā*, for *le-ānā*, 'to bring'). This goes back ultimately, through Prakritic forms, to the Sanskrit *labh*. Evident as this is, neither the major nor the minor Petersburg lexicon points it out (tho Monier Williams notes it), nor does Weber allude to it in connection with the occurrence of the word in the Jainistic Recension of the Vikramacarita (*Ind. Stud.* 15. 274, 353, 366).¹ The genuine text of Vikr. JR. has it only once (V. O. 20); individual mss. have it as var. lect. in two other places, which perhaps points to the familiarity of the copyists with it.

As a small contribution to a future comprehensive study of this subject, which I sincerely hope some scholar competent in both Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars may soon undertake, I wish to record another evident Hindiism (or at least 'modernism') which I have noted in the Sanskrit text of another version of the Vikramacarita, the Southern Recension (SR, as I refer to it). It is the word *ādeśa* in the sense of the Hindi *ādes* 'salutation, greeting.' I can find no previous record of this use of the Sanskrit *ādeśa*, nor of its Pāli or Prakrit equivalents. I

¹ Uhlenbeck's *Etym. Lex.* is dolefully ignorant of the simple and obvious origin of this word, and flounders hopelessly over it.

therefore conclude that it is proper to interpret it as a Hindiism—by which, of course, I do not mean to commit myself necessarily to the proposition that it was borrowed precisely from one of the dialects now called 'Hindi.' But it seems that it was most probably taken from some dialect parallel thereto, at least.

The passage speaks for itself; no argument is necessary beyond the statement of the simple fact that the Hindi *ādes* is a very common word in this meaning. This being understood, I think no Sanskritist will hesitate to interpret the passage as I do. We must, then, amend our Sanskrit lexicons by adding the meaning 'salutation' for *ādeśa*.

The word occurs in Vikr. SR 14. 0. 11. The entire passage reads:—

rājā 'pi tatra nadījale snātvā devatām namaskṛtya yāvad āgacchati, tāvad avadhūtavāso nāma kaścid yogī tatrā 'gataḥ. tasyā 'deśam dattvā sukhī bhavē 'ty uktas tena saha taddevālaya upaviṣṭaḥ.

The mss. are nearly unanimous; one has the interesting variant *tasmāi namaskṛtya* for *tasyā 'deśam dattvā*. This makes assurance doubly sure as to what *ādeśam dattvā* means. Translate:—

'But when the king had bathed in the water of this river and made obeisance to the deity, as he drew near, a certain ascetic named Avadhūtavāsa came in there. When [the king] had given him a salutation and had received the reply "May you be happy," he sat down with him in that temple.'

The date of the passage cannot be determined with anything like precision. But it cannot, I believe, be earlier than the 11th century A. D. (which is the earliest possible date, in my opinion, for the original Vikramacarita). And there is some evidence to indicate that the Southern Recension of Vikr., the only one in which the word occurs, was composed not earlier than the 13th century. On this point see Part 4 of the Introduction to my Vikramacarita, in the Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 26 (now in press).

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NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

According to the *New York Tribune* of June 3 a number of prominent British scientists have organized a committee to found a School of Archaeology at Jerusalem. The members include Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, president of the British Academy, Sir George Adam Smith, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Prof. Herrmann Gollancz. Two gifts of \$5,000 each have already been received. The School will devote itself to excavations and surveys and the workers will be drawn from all parts of the British Empire and the United States. The work heretofore done by the Palestine Exploration Fund will henceforth be conducted in coöperation with the new institution, and further funds for excavation will be made available from the funds of the British Academy.

The Executive Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem has placed its properties in Jerusalem at the disposal of the Red Cross and the offer has been accepted. Prof. Edward A. Wicher, of the San Francisco Seminary, a former student of the School, who is going to Palestine in Y. M. C. A. work, has been commissioned to act as the School's representative in Jerusalem. His address is care of American Y. M. C. A., Cairo, Egypt. Negotiations with the Palestine Exploration Fund have been opened looking towards closer coöperation.

PERSONALIA

PROF. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON left for Persia on May 30, as a member of a commission sent by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief for humanitarian work in that country.

DR. STEPHEN B. LUCE, of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed a lieutenant in the Navy and is now in service.

PROF. A. CARNOY, late of the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted a professorship in the University of California.

NOTES, MAINLY TEXTUAL, ON TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA, BOOK II

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THIS COLLECTION OF NOTES is intended to help in blazing the way for a definitiv reconstruction of the hypothetical original text of the Pañcatantra, Book II; that is, of the 'Urtext' from which, we must suppose, all extant versions ar descended. Such a definitiv reconstruction is, I am firmly convinst, not a mere dream. A careful comparativ study of the details of all the older extant versions of the Pañcatantra (Book II) has shown me that it is perfectly possible. I do not mean, of course, that we can re-write the entire Sanskrit text of the 'Urpañcatantra'—altho we can actually do that to a large extent; nor do I mean that we can with absolute certainty reconstruct even the substance thereof, from beginning to end. Unless our present sources of knowledge should becom greatly augmented, there wil probably always be certain sentences, paragraphs, and entire stories—in the aggregate rather numerous—about which there wil be room for differences of opinion as to whether they wer found in the original. I do, however, believ most firmly, that such sections wil be insignificant in number and extent, compared with the parts about which it wil be possible to be reasonably certain that *something of the sort*, at least, was found in the original. But furthermore: this 'something of the sort' does not by any means do justis to the degree of exactitude with which it is possible to determin very extensiv parts of the text of the 'Urpañcatantra'. Not only can most of the stanzas be set down word for word, or practically so, as they existed in the Urpañcatantra, and in the exact order in which they wer found there. What is much more surprizing, a not inconsiderable number of prose sentences can be set down just about as definitly, in their original form. And by far the greater part of the prose narrativ, in Book II at any rate, can be determind with sufficient accuracy to make possible what would pass as a free translation of the (non-existent) original text. The number of sentences or paragraphs which ar not wel

enough preserved in the extant versions to permit reconstruction to this extent is comparatively small.

I hope to publish before long my attempt at a reconstruction of the original Pañcatantra, Book II. I will postpone until that time a statement of my views of the relation of the several extant versions to the original and to each other. At present I will say only that my previous estimate of these interrelationships (*AJP* 36. 44 ff., 253 ff., esp. table opposit p. 278) has undergone some slight modifications, but no important ones. In particular, what I formerly said about the position of the Tantrākhyāyika (*l. c.* p. 52 ff.) still represents quite well my feeling about it, except that I should be inclined to emphasize more the (as I believe) quite considerable extent of the demonstrably secondary additions made in the text of Tantr. I think that if we had the Sanskrit text from which the Pahlavi was translated, it would be very much closer to the original than the Tantr. But I still hold that the Tantr. is closer to the original, on the whole (by no means in all details!), than any other text we have.

If this is so, it follows that the text of the Tantr. is of prime importance for this task of reconstruction. It would therefore be highly desirable to establish the text of the Tantr. on as sound and certain a basis as possible, as a preliminary to our ultimate end.

Unfortunately the text of the Tantr. is not in a very satisfactory state.

Its discoverer and first and only editor, Johannes Hertel, based his edition¹ on four manuscripts, which he calls P, p, z, and R. These (as far as concerns the text of Book II) fall into two

¹ *Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra.* Berlin, 1910 (= *Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, ph.-h. Kl., N. F., xii. 2). The variant readings of the mss. are quoted in this edition alone. A reprint has been published in Professor Lanman's Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 14 (Cambridge, 1915). In the preface to this, which we call the *editio minor* (*ed. min.*), reference is made to certain changes in the text of the *editio princeps*. I have discovered no such changes in the text of Book II; the only two deviations I have observed are two misprints (page 65, line 17, read *luñcitān eva*; page 88, line 1, read *chittvā* for *cittvā*). The reprint is convenient in size and price, and for cursory reading fairly satisfactory (but cf. note 3 below); it is of course true, as the editor points out, that the *ed. major* remains 'the indispensable basis for all further scientific investigation' (p. xiii).

groups, to wit, P and p, which Hertel calls the α recension, and z and R, which he calls the β recension. The term 'recension' seems to me misleading. Thruout nearly the whole of Book II, at least, the variations between the two groups are not only infinitesimal, but in character not such as would seem to be implied by this dignified term. The mss. are, in short, all very close to each other, and surely no deliberate or conscious reworking of the text (such as would be implied by the term 'recension') has intervened, in my opinion, between any of them and the author's draft of the Tantr.² I retain Hertel's terms as convenient designations for groups of paleographically related manuscripts (for Hertel is quite right to that extent); but I expressly reject the theory connected with them.

The text of Tantr., as presented by these mss., is in many details problematic. Compared with the general run of Sanskrit fables, it is rather difficult. In a very considerable number of instances Hertel has deemed it necessary to abandon the readings of all his mss. and resort to emendation.³

There is no doubt that in a great many cases this procedure was necessary. But my studies have proved to me that Hertel has carried it much too far. Time and again he has been too impatient with the text, and too ready to substitute a reading of his own construction. One of the first things to be done, then, is to rid the published text of Hertel's unnecessary emendations. I have discovered that in the 36 printed pages of Book II (*ed. min.*), they number one to a page on the average. The list is

² Hertel even believes that his 'recension β ' has suffered interpolation from another Pāñc. recension, a product of his hypothetical 'K' (cf. *AJP* 36. 259), which 'K' I believe to be wholly imaginary. I have not discovered any reason to believe that the mss. of β contain a single trace of outside influence—whether from another Pāñc. version or any other source.

³ It is most unfortunate, in view of the enormous number of his emendations, that Hertel did not indicate them in his printed text, by the use of asterisks or some similar signs. In the *ed. maj.*, of course, it is possible to discover them from his critical notes (altho the casual reader might not always remember that ' $\alpha\beta$ ' is his way of designating the totality of his mss.; would it not have been more perspicuous to say 'mss.?'). In the *ed. min.*, however, there is no such assistance. Difficulties and uncertainties in the text are so numerous that even the most casual reader must frequently want to know at least whether or not the reading presented is actually the reading of the mss., or of some of them.

given below. I hav not included therein a number of uncertain instances, nor, of course, any instances of emendations of indefensible manuscript readings.

Next I present an approximately equal number of cases in which it seems to me that Hertel has made a mistaken choice between variant readings of his mss.

After this I giv a small number of emendations of my own, and conclude with a very few corrections of Hertel's translation.

The notes ar numberd consecutivly from 1 to 95. Double references ar given, first to page and line of the *ed. min.* (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 14), and then to page and line of the *ed. maj.* Quotations ar always given *first* in the form in which they ar printed in Hertel's text. I use Hertel's designations of the individual mss. and groups of mss. (which latter Hertel calls 'recensions', as above noted).

I. SUPERFLUOUS EMENDATIONS INTRODUCED BY HERTEL

1. 54.7 = 64.7, *apaśyat tadadhiṣṭhānavāsinam* . . . (*pakṣi-bandham*). The mss. omit *tad* (R has *apaśyac cā 'dhi°*), and there is no reason for inserting it. 'He saw a bird-catcher who dwelt in thē-country.'

2. 55.17 = 65.21, *nā 'nyo 'smākam āpado mokṣayite 'ti*. Mss. *mokṣayatī 'ti*. The present is perfectly good; *āpado* is acc., not abl. 'No one else sets [can set] free [unloose, remove] our troubles.' See BR s. v. *mokṣay* 1 (cf. also 3, which is closely similar). Pūrṇ's parallel, *samarthaś cā 'yam āpadvimokṣaṇāya*, can be taken at least as well in this sense ('unloosing, removing, of [our] troubles') as in any other. Other versions ar inconclusiv.

3. 56.15 = 67.2, *badhyante baḍṣāir* . . . *mīnāḥ*. Mss. *bādhyante*, which might be allowd to stand as the Tantr. reading ('ar harast, vext, annoyd'). There is of course no dout that the more appropriate *badhyante*, found in all other versions, was the original. That by no means proves that the tru text of *Tantr.* red so!—The accompanying ablativ may be taken as directly dependent on the subject.

4. 56.31-32 = 67.18-19, *mā tāvan mama pāsāḥ, kiṃ tu prathamam matpariṇasya chidyantām*. For all of this the mss. read only: *mā tāvan mamā 'sya chindyantām* (R correctly *chid°*).

The rest is pure conjecture on Hertel's part! It does not even closely follow any other version. The mss. reading is perfectly good, and indeed much more dramatic than the product of Hertel's brain which has crowded it out. Literally, 'not yet of [this me] me-here let-be-cut!' That is, as we might say, 'Don't cut *mine* yet!' Only a very prosaic soul would demand the verbal expression of the noun for 'bonds'; in his excitement the dove uses no more words than are necessary.

5. 57.4-5 = 67.23, *tad yāvad amuṃ bhavān mama pāśaṃ na chinatti*. Mss. *ayaṃ* for *amuṃ*; this should be kept. 'Your worship here' (BR 1, p. 795, towards bottom).

6. 59.11 = 70.22, *sarvathā 'haṃ tvāṃ ātmikaromi*. No ms. has *tvāṃ*, which is a quite unnecessary insertion; the object is perfectly clear from the context. Cf. number 4, above.

7. 59.19 = 71.5, *pratyāyito 'haṃ bhavatā*. On this see Edgerton, *AJP* 36.257 ff. The mss. read *pratyarthito*, which means 'I am (successfully) opposed (in argument) by you,' 'you have won your case against me'; it is a well-known legal term. Tho there is no doubt that *pratyāyito* (with SP and Pūrṇ) is the reading of the 'Urtext,' there is no need to emend the reading of Tantr.

8. 59.25-26 = 71.9-10, *cittavittābhyāṃ* (better omit *vittābhyāṃ*, see no. 37 below) *saṃgamo vṛddhaye, na punar vittam prabhūtam api. vināśāya kaścil lāvakebhyas tilān prayacchati*. The mss. all read *saṃgamaṃ* and *prabhūtān*. As to the first, there is lexical authority for *saṃgama* as a neuter, and I should prefer to keep it; it would be by no means the only case of the sort found in Tantr. (cf. also below, number 84); and indeed every new Sanskrit text that is published brings to light numerous new confirmations of such statements of the Hindu lexicographers. But as to Hertel's change of *prabhūtān* to °*tam*, I protest that it simply makes the text say something wholly different from what the author obviously intended. That a *prabhūtān*, after *vittam*, might have got corrupted into *prabhūtam*, is obvious; it is hardly conceivable that *prabhūtam*, in this location, should have got corrupted into *prabhūtān*—as Hertel assumes. Clearly a period should be put after *vittam*, and *prabhūtān* construed with *tilān* in the next sentence. Translate: '. . . but not wealth. Even in great abundance [i. e. with seeming lavishness], 'tis only for their destruction that a man offers sesame to partridges.'

9. 61.16 = 73.15, *punar apy āha*. No ms. has *punar apy*, and this certainly should not have been inserted. I believe that the word *āha* should also be omitted with ms. R; see below, number 41.

10. 62.4 = 74.6, *tīrthabhūta*. The mss. have *tīrthapūta*, 'purified by pilgrimages,' or *tīvrapūta*, 'terribly pure.' Either makes perfectly good sense. In his translation, p. 70, note 3, Hertel correctly interprets the mss. readings; his note does not give me any inkling of his reason for abandoning them.

11. 62.5 = 74.6-7, *snigdhadravapeśālānām*. All mss. *dravya* for *drava*: keep this, and translate 'delicious with sticky substances.' The fact that at 85.4 = 101.7, where the same word occurs, the β mss. have °*drava*°, surely does not prove that *drava* should be read in both passages. On the contrary, the unanimous testimony of the mss. here proves that at 85.4 = 101.7 Hertel should have read *dravya* with the α mss. (which according to him are in general the more original group, anyhow!).

12. 62.13 = 74.13-14, *tasminn āpotake śeṣaṁ suguptaṁ kṛtvā*. The words *śeṣaṁ suguptaṁ* are inserted by Hertel without ms. authority, and are quite unnecessary. 'Putting it in that vessel.' This use of *kṛ* is familiar enough (BR s. v. 13). The β mss. read, after *āpotake*, *tathāi 'va nāgadantake*, 'and in the same manner (putting the vessel) upon the peg'; this seems to me probably correct, though Hertel, for reasons which are not apparent, calls it a 'mislungener Versuch, die Lücke auszufüllen.'

13. 66.18-19 = 79.9-10, *tathāi 'vā 'khyāne*. Mss. *'khyāte*, which should be kept. 'In the same manner (as before), when a story had been told [literally, 'it having been narrated'; loc. abs.].'

14. 69.2 = 82.3-4, *yat satataṁ dehī 'ti vakti*. Mss. *yas* (i. e. *yah*) for *yat*. '(The fulfilment of whose fate is of this sort, namely—) who is always saying "Giv!"'

15. 73.6 = 86.18, *yasyā 'nubandhāt pāpīyān adhoniṣṭho vipadyate*. Mss. *'nubandhaḥ*. (See Edgerton, *AJP* 36. 256 f.) There is no need to emend; *anubandha* here means 'consequence' instead of 'attachment,' as Hertel understands it. '(What wise man, pray, would perform a disgusting deed for the sake of that,) the consequence of which is evil and comes to naught when it gets to the lower world [after death]?'

16. 74.10 = 88.7, *avyavasāyīnam alasaṁ dāivaparaṁ pāuruṣāc ca parihīnam*. Mss. *pāuruṣavihīnam* (α) or *puruṣaparihīnam* (β), for *pāu*°. As the reading of α is precisely synonymous with Hertel's wholly unnecessary emendation, I infer that metrical considerations must have influenced Hertel; his emendation makes the stanza into an āryā. But as it stands in the mss. (either group!) it makes a perfectly good upagīti stanza, and therefore no change is called for. The reading of β is inferior; it would mean 'abandoned by mankind.'—Hertel's treatment of this stanza is all the more surprising because in vs 2.83 he quite unnecessarily adopts a reading which makes an upagīti stanza out of an āryā; see below, number 48.

17. 74.29 = 89.1, *kiṁ dhanena kariṣyanti dehino bhaṅgurāśrayāḥ*. Mss. *tv anena* for *dhanena*. The word *dhanam* occurs in the next pāda and is understood from it; the pronoun holds the thought in suspense deliberately, as frequently in such proverbial stanzas. 'What can mortals do with *that* [referring ahead to 'wealth'], since their position is insecure?'—(That on account of which they desire *wealth*, namely the body, is impermanent!)

18. 75.4 = 89.7, *adanāḥ*. So both editions; critical note gives the reading of all mss. as *adhanāḥ*. Hertel's translation renders the word 'vermögenslos,' which is exactly *adhanāḥ*; and so far as I can see *adanāḥ* makes no sense at all. I cannot understand Hertel's procedure here. I should suspect a misprint but for (1) the repetition of *adanāḥ* in the *ed. min.*, and (2) the critical note giving the mss. reading as *adhanāḥ*!

19. 79.20 = 94.8, *dhanena*. Mss. *tv anena* (as in number 17, above). See below, number 82.

20. 79.22 = 94.11. There is no lacuna in the text, as assumed by Hertel. The mistake is evidently due to Hertel's misinterpretation of the word *hiraṇyābhyavapattāu*, in the next line, in which H. takes the form *hiraṇya-* for a proper name. But it is a common noun. The sentence means: 'My mind has become completely satisfied with the loss of my money.' *Abhy-ava-pad* is not found, but *ava-pad* means *to be deprived of*, and there is no evidence that it could ever mean *to take refuge with*, which is implied by Hertel's rendering of *abhyavapattāu*.

21. 80.16 = 95.7, *nīmittaṁ cā 'pi hetunā*. Mss. *hetutaḥ*, confirmed by Mbh. I. 140.88 and XII. 140.32, the same stanza. 'And (he should derive) the cause also from a (further) reason.'

22. 81.9 = 96.7, *sarpāir vā saha vasatām udīrṇadarpāir*. Mss. *mandāir* for *sarpāir* (em. from Pūrṇ). 'Or of those dwelling together with foolish and arrogant men.'

23. 81.13 = 96.11, *yadahe cā 'thavā niśi*. Mss. *yac ca vā* for *cā 'thavā*. 'On whatever day, and whatever (is destined) even by night'; *vā* is not quite correctly translated by 'even,' tho I think of no closer equivalent in English; it emphasizes the alternative nature of *niśi* in relation to *-ahe*. At any rate, the reading of the mss. is excellent and perfectly clear Sanskrit.

24. 81.19 = 96.17, *hartā*. Mss. *hantā* (P *hattā*). 'Destroyer' fits as well as 'remover.'

25. 82.19 = 97.20, *citrāṅgaḥ*. Mss. *citrāṅga*. The voc. is changed to a nom. by Hertel because the deer's name has not previously been told to the tortoise, whose speech begins at this point. An instance of quite unnecessary super-rationalism; such unevennesses in Hindu story-telling are frequent.

26. 82.30 = 98.7, *kīlasaktacarmapāṣeṇā 'vabaddham*. Mss. *kīle śīkyacarma°* (*α, śakyacarma°*): 'bound to a post by a loop of leather thong,' adopting the reading of β. (The *α* reading is merely a corruption.) The word *śīkya* means a loop cord, a sort of lasso, used e. g. for carrying burdens and for holding the scales of a balance. It fits perfectly in this place.

27. 83.27 = 99.13, *niyaticeṣṭitasya*. Mss. *niyata°*; the p. p. ('that which is destined') may certainly be used as the equivalent of the nom. act. *niyati*.

28. 85.20 = 102.2, *asvāsthyam*. Mss. *āsvasthyam* or *āsvāsthyam* (sic). The former is a perfectly normal derivative in the suffix *ya*, with vṛddhi of the first syllable, from *asvastha*. The latter also, with the correction *th* for *t*, would be a perfectly normal form, with 'double vṛddhi' (Whitney, *Gr.* 1204 f). Either is preferable to Hertel's emendation.

29. 86.18-19 = 103.2-3, *mantrāṇāṃ parato nā 'sti bījam uccāraṇaṃ tathā, asambaddhapralāpā na kāryaṃ sādhayitum kṣamāḥ*. Mss. *uccāraṇaṃ*, and °*pralāpe-na*. Hertel utterly misunderstands this stanza. The readings of the mss. are quite correct. Translate: 'There is no germ [technical term for the essential part, core, of a mantra] nor pronunciation [of a mantra] apart from the mantras [to which they pertain]. By disconnected muttering people cannot accomplish any object [which would be accomplished by the mantra].'

30. 87.7 = 103.14, *niyati*°. Mss. *niyata*°; see number 27, above.

31. 87.18 = 104.6, *pathy aṭanapratimās te jīvitakāntāraśeṣasya*. Mss. *pathya-dhana*°, which should certainly be kept. '(Days spent with friends) ar like journey-money (Reisegeld) for one who has nothing left but the wilderness of life (to travel thru).' The *tertium comparationis* is that they help to make the journey comparatively easy and plesant.

32. 88.9 = 105.3, *yāvad askhalitaṁ tāvat sukhaṁ yāti same pathi*. Mss. *askhalitas*; middle in force, because the verb is intrans. in the activ. It may therefore be personal, just like the very common *gataḥ* etc. 'As long as he has not stumbled, so long,' etc.

33. 88.13 = 105.7, *mārgaśrāntasya viśrāme mitrachāyā 'pi dūṣitā*. Mss. *viśrāmo*, which makes much better sense than the emendation: 'The shade- (that consists in a) friend, which is a rest for one weary from the journey, is also spoild.'

34. 88.20 = 105.13, *utpādabhaṅguram*. Mss. *utpāta*°: 'subject to destruction by sudden accidents.'

II. UNFORTUNATE SELECTIONS BETWEEN VARIOUS MANUSCRIPT READINGS

Most of my differences of opinion with Hertel in this regard ar, as wil appear, based merely on considerations of intrinsic plausibility—on superior sense and consistency with the context. In a few cases they ar based on the support given by other Pañc. versions to the reading of one group of Tantr. mss. In these cases Hertel has to som extent been led astray, as it seems to me, by his theory that the β 'recension' has been contaminated by other texts (above, p. 275, note 2). Yet he has not consistently acted on this theory. In very many cases he adopts a reading of β which is certainly no better than that of α , and in some cases, as wil appear below, he even adopts inferior readings of β . As I am convinst that β is just as pure a tradition of Tantr. as is α , I believ that in evry case in which a β reading is supported by the other recensions it should be adopted, as being almost certainly the reading of the 'Urpañcatantra' and so of Tantr.

35. 54.17 = 64.15, *itaś ce 'taḥ*. So α ; read with β *itaś ce 'taś ca*. The word *ca* can hav no force, so far as I can see, unless

it goes with the correlativ *ca* after the second *itaḥ*. Hertel's translation, in fact, ignores *ca*.

36. 58.2 = 69.4, *capalo na capala iti*; read with P and Pūrṇ *capalo* 'capala iti, or perhaps better yet (as is acutely suggested by Hertel himself in his critical note) *capalaś capala iti*. This could easily have been misunderstood and corrupted into *capalo* 'capala iti.

37. 59.25 = 71.9-10, *cittavittābhyām saṅgamo*. Read with β *cittasaṅgamam* (cf. above, number 8). This makes better sense; it is union 'by the hart,' not 'by hart and profit,' that is contrasted with union by profit alone. And this is confirmed by the Pahlavi versions; both the Old Syriac and the Arabic, with all descendants of the latter, speak of the hart (alone) in contrast with profit.

38. 59.31, 32 = 71.15, 16, *bādhyante*. In both lines β reads *badhyante*, which is clearly meant for *vadhyante*; Simpl. has forms of *vadh-* in its version of the stanza, and this makes fully as good sense as *bādh-*, if not better. I should therefore be inclined to read *vadhyante*, which may be the reading of β (of course *b* and *v* are absolutely interchangeable in mss.). I admit, however, that Hertel's reading is possible.

39. 60.19 = 72.12, *bhūtvā*, so β; α omits the word, which is not only unnecessary but disturbing. Hertel's translation ignores it.

40. 61.1 = 73.1, *tatrāi 'va ca tat kathayisyāmi*. Read with β *gataḥ* for *ca tat*: 'When I have gone there I will tell you.' This is confirmed by SP, Simpl, Pūrṇ, Syr, and Ar; the Skt. versions all read *tatrāi 'va gatvā* (Pūrṇ *gataḥ*—exactly as Tantr β).

41. 61.13-16 = 73.13-15. There is no lacuna, as Hertel assumes in line 13. Read with R *sa āha* after *tarkitam* in 14, and omit with R *punar apy āha* in 16 (15); no ms. has *punar apy* (cf. number 9, above). In 13 the crow speaks: 'Friend, at first I did not realize that it was you at all, judging by your usual appearance.' The other [= tortoise] said: 'Because crows . . .' etc.

42. 61.27 = 74.2. The passage found in the β mss. after this line certainly belongs to the original; it has correspondents in Simpl, Pūrṇ, Syr, and Ar; cf. also Som 86 *tayor ubhayoh kākakūrmayoḥ*, which seems to reflect the same passage. Hertel

should certainly hav printed it. He does, in fact, translate it in his translation.

43. 66.18 = 79.9, *pūrvākhyāte śeṣam ālāpam aśṛṇavam*. I think 'śeṣam should be printed, 'the entire,' insted of *śeṣam*, 'das übrige' (so Hertel; but ? I can find no authority for such an adjectival use of *śeṣa*; it should be *ālāpaśeṣa*!) But the correct reading seems to me that of β, *pūrvākhyātam* (adverb) *aśeṣam* etc.: 'I herd the entire conversation in the manner as described before.'

44. 66.20 = 79.11, *yato*. So ms. z of β. Either *tato* (α) or *ato* (R) would be preferable.

45. 67.21 = 80.17. We should add *hy* at the end of the line, with α and Pūrṇ, to avoid the hiatus. The occurrence of another *hi* in the next line is no objection, as the two *hi*'s belong to different clauses; and both ar most appropriate in meaning.

46. 68.6 = 81.4, *tyaktalokakriyādārah*. Hertel, 'von den Taten [dem Verkehr] und der Achtung der Welt verlassen'; this seems very straind. Hertel's text follows ms. z. of β; R, also of β, reads °*ācārah*; the α mss. read °*ādhārāh*. The tru reading, it seems to me, is clearly °*ādhārāh*: 'he has lost all support (basis) for worldly activity.'

47. 68.13 = 81.11, *na kaścīd anyah prativacanam api dadāti*. The β mss. hav *prṣṭah* after *anyah*, which seems much better.

48. 72.17 = 86.7. Read with β *jagati jantoh* for *jantoh*. No change in meaning, but we thereby get an āryā stanza, which is more usual, insted of an upagīti, as Hertel's text has it. Haplografy wil account for the omission (the eye skipping from *ja-gati* to *ja-ntoh*). Cf. number 16, above.

49. 74.18 = 88.15, *paribhavavaśam*. Read with β, SP, n, Hit, and Pūrṇ, *paribhavapadam*. No change in meaning. Note that two emendations from SP etc., without the support of any Tantr. ms., ar introduced by Hertel in this same line! He was right in so doing; but he should hav been the more redy to admit the variant °*padam* of β.

50. 74.28 = 88.25, *tad arthān āpacate sucaritam api; manuṣyaṁ kṣaṇād dhvaṁsayanti*. So only P. For *arthān āpacate*, the others all intend *arthā nāmāi 'te'* (precisely so R; z °*nāmete*, p °*nāma ete*), and this reading, with deletion of the mark of punctuation, givs very much better sense than Hertel's labord

rendering: 'It is just this thing welth that right speedily causes the destruction of a man, even if he be virtuous.'

51. 75.10 = 89.13, *tathā kartṛsahasreṣu kartāraṁ karma vindati*. This is the reading of *a*, except that *kartṛ*° is Hertel's emendation for *karma*°. The *β* mss. agree with Simpl and Pūrṇ in reading *tathā pūrvakṛtāṁ karma kartāraṁ anuvindati* (Pūrṇ *evam* for *tathā*; Pūrṇ and Simpl *anugacchati*). The corruption in *a* is itself a dubious thing; and Hertel's attempt, *ZDMG* 59.5 f., to show that the *β* reading is secondary, leaves me unconvinced. Read with *β*.

52. 76.7 = 90.9-10, *viprakṛṣṭataraṁ grāmasya*. Hertel: 'da weit und breit kein Dorf vorhanden ist.' I do not see how this or any other good meaning can be got from the reading. The *β* mss. have *viprakṛṣṭam antaraṁ grāmasya*, which is obviously required: 'It is a considerable distance to a village (or, to town).' The syllable *man* (written of course *man*) has been left out in *a*.

53. 76.11 = 90.13, *evam bhavān*; the addition *pramādī* (*β*) seems absolutely necessary to the sense—so much so that Hertel is constrained to insert it in italics in his translation! Why he did not adopt it in his text I cannot imagine.

54. 78.17 = 93.5, *dāivapurusaḥyogād arthotpattiḥ*. The *β* mss. insert *kāra* after *purusa*, which is much better: 'thru a combination of fate and human effort' is surely better than '... of fate and man'! This is the standard contrast in this quite common situation; cf. e. g. Yājñ. 1. 348 (quoted in BR), *dāive puruṣakāre ca*. A derivativ like *pāuruṣa* might be set off against *dāiva*—but not the simple *purusa*.

55. 78.21 = 93.8, *vaṇijakāu*. The *β* mss. have *vāṇijakāu*, which is a word found repeatedly in literature, and therefore should be preferred to *va*°, which like *vaṇija* is known only lexically.

56. 79.11 = 94.1, *dāivacodito*. The *a* mss. *deva*°, which is much better; it was 'the god' and not 'fate' that impelled him, as the story indicates.

57. 79.15 = 94.4.5, *śayane sopacāre svāstīrṇe*. The *β* mss. have the preferable *sopacāraṁ* (adverb, 'with great ceremony'; going closely with *svāstīrṇe*, as the order shows). Hertel renders 'geschmückt,' which is perhaps possible, but seems much less

likely. It is easy to see how the form in °am between the two locativ forms became corrupted to °e; while the reverse corruption is much less easy to conceiv.

58. 80.2 = 94.14, *jīvanti nityam puruṣās ta eva*. The β mss. with Pūrṇ read *te sat-* for *nityam*, which givs a sense that seems to me *a priori* better: 'They ar (really) alive, and it is just they that ar noble men.' Otherwise, in Hertel's text, *puruṣās* is weak—tho not impossible.

59. 81.1 = 95.24, *prākkarmāyatījanito hi yo vipākaḥ*. Hertel: 'Das Reifen, das durch die Fortwirkung der früheren Tat erzeugt ist.' Can *āyati*, 'extension,' mean 'Fortwirkung' in this sense? Possibly; but it seems to me, in any case, that the better reading is that of the α mss., *prākkarma prati janito°*: ' . . . which is produced in accordance with previous deeds.'

60. 81.23 = 96.21, *jhaḡ-iti*. No ms. has this form, tho p and β hav *jhāḡ-iti*; but one β ms. corrects the *g* to *ḡ*, and P, an α ms., has *jhaṭ-iti*. Under these circumstances it is hard to see why Hertel introduced a textual emendation in order to present the excessively rare *jhaḡ-iti*, insted of the common *jhaṭ-iti*.

61. 82.29 = 98.6, *tad upalabhyatām utplutya yathāvasthitām citrāṅgavārttām*. So far as I can see, this sentence is ungrammatical. How can the passiv verb be construed with the following acc.? If all the mss. red this, an emendation would be necessary. But the β mss. hav a perfectly simple and obviously correct reading; *upalabhasvo 'tplutya* etc. Hertel: 'Fliege denn empor und ziehe zuverlässige Kunde über C. ein.' This correctly translates the β reading; I wish Hertel would explain how he gets it out of the text he prints!

62. 82.32 = 98.9, *-upādeyam*. So only z and R's second hand; α and R's first hand hav *-upādheyam*, which is perfectly possible (it means practically the same as *-upādeyam*), and should be kept as the reading indicated by the most (and, according to Hertel, best) mss.

63. 83.2 = 98.10, *bhavān anabhijñāḥ*; the necessary completion of the frase is found in β, *pāśachedanakarmanāḥ*. It is surely not ment to be said that the crow is 'ignorant' absolutely! Quite the contrary. But he does not kno how to cut the bonds. Cf. 83.13 = 98.21, which mathematically proves my point.

64. 83.27 = 99.13, *anabhijño 'si niyaticeṣṭitasya* (read *niyata°*,

cf. number 27, above). The β mss. read *abhiñño*, 'You know the actions of fate.' This is confirmed by Pūrṇ, and is more in keeping with what we should expect; cf. 55.27 ff. = 66.8 ff.

65. 83.28-29 = 99.14-15, *mā bhāṣiṣh, vartate mayi pārśvasthe lubdhakāt kaścīd apāyaḥ*. The β mss. add *tvam* after *bhāṣiṣh*, and *na* before *vartate*. Instead of a 'Schlimmbesserung,' as Hertel calls this in the note to his translation, I regard it as almost certainly the original reading. Hertel is constrained to understand *vartate* etc. as a rhetorical question: 'Is there any danger while I am here?' The negative surely is a simpler reading; and it is confirmed by SP (*mayi pārśvasthe 'pi na lubdhakād bhayam*) and Pūrṇ (*mayi pārśvasthe na bhetavyam*), while Simpl indeed has a question, but introduces it with a clear interrogative word, as Tantr. should also if a question is really meant (Simpl: *kiṁ mayy api samāyāte lubdhakād bibheṣi?*). Hertel's remarks in ZDMG 59.6 leave me unconvinced; the putting *na vartate* at the beginning may indicate nothing but emphasis on these words. I am not denying the possibility of H's reading; I only say that the other is so much simpler and more natural, that I feel sure it must be the right one—especially as it is closer to those of the other versions.

66. 84.3 = 99.19, *śaḍjātayah* (!), must surely be a misprint for *śaḍ°*, altho it is repeated in the *ed. min.*! The critical note gives *śaḍjātinah* as the β reading. Of course read *śaḍ-*.

67. 85.4 = 101.7, *snigdhadrava°*. Read with a *snigdhadravaya°*; cf. number 11, above.

68. 86.7 = 102.11, *ato 'yam amānuṣaḥ*. Hertel: 'Darum ist dieser kein Mensch.' But what the prince feared was, not that the deer was a *human*, but that it was a monster. The β mss. read *nā 'to* for *ato*: 'Therefore this is no monster (Unmensch, Unhold, devil).' This seems preferable; it makes *amānuṣa* a positive concept instead of a purely negative one. Cf. especially BR s. v. *amanuṣya*, 3.

69. 88.13 = 105.7. After this line the β mss. have a prose insertion (found in an imperfect form in the mss., to be sure), which evidently corresponds to something in the original—also reflected in Simpl (Kielhorn and Bühler, 1st ed., B. S. S. III, p. 45, lines 12 *aparam . . . 16 suhrṇ me*), and in Pahl (Syr and Ar). For comparative purposes, at least, this is most important; and it seems to me certain that the Tantr. had *something*

here (even tho our imperfect mss. do not permit us to determine the language in full).

70. 89.5 = 106.7. After this line too the β mss. have something which Hertel communicates only in his critical note. I do not think that the words in this case are incomplete; it is probably a mere accident that they can be read as a fragment of a śloka verse. For they are complete in meaning and correspond very closely to the parallel passage in Pūrṇ. Thus, Tantr.: *kaṣṭam bhoḥ!* [At this point begins the seeming fragment of a śloka] *tādṛṇmitravīyogo 'pi viśmṛtaḥ kiṁ nijorasi svajanāir* [z. *sujanāir*] ?—Pūrṇ: *tat kaṣṭam bhoḥ! mitravīyogena hato 'ham, iti kiṁ nijāir api svajanāih?*—Now no other Sanskrit version has anything like this, nor has the Syriac; but in the Arabic is found a passage which I believe came from the same original Skt. I admit the meaning is a good deal transformed; but no one who has studied the Pahl. versions in relation to the Skt. will be seriously troubled by this! Indeed, neither of the two versions of the Ar which I shall presently quote is more remote from the Skt. than the two are from each other; and yet it is certain that both of them go back to some single Arabic version, at least. Cheikho's text has in the corresponding place: 'Just so is the man who has quieted his wounds in the company of his friends, and has then lost them.' Halil's edition has: 'And recognize that whoever has lost his friends after he has been united with them does not cease from having broken his back[?] by the sorrow of his soul.' (Literal translations of the Arabic made for me by Dr. W. N. Brown.)—On the basis of these passages in Tantr. β , Pūrṇ, and Ar, I think it may be assumed with plausibility (of course not with certainty) that the original Pañc. had something of the sort. And therefore I think the β reading should be inserted in the text of Tantr.

III. EMENDATIONS OF THE TEXT, PROPOSED BY THE PRESENT WRITER

71. 60.23 = 72.16, *aprcchat*. No question is asked, however. The following sentence, *aham asmāt sthānād anyat sthānam gacchāmi*, is clearly a plain statement of fact, or rather of actual intention. Hertel, to make *aprcchat* consistent, renders 'darf ich . . . gehen?'—a meaning which the words surely do not in the least justify. It seems to me that we should read *āprcchat*,

'took leav of.' By this extremely slight and simple change we get a meaning that fits the context admirably.

72. 61.11 = 73.11, *pravrttakāryavisrambho*. It seems that °*āvisrambho* should be red: 'Tho he possess a matchless water-stronghold, nevertheless M. was afraid; for he knew wel about times and places, and (so) was distrustful of the matter that was pending.'

73. 61.18 = 73.17, *nirvedakāraṇam ākhum ākhyātavān*. This should mean 'told about the mouse (who was) the cause of his despair'; and so, essentially, Hertel renders it. But the mouse had absolutely nothing to do with the crow's *nirveda*, according to either the Tantr.'s version of the story, or that of any other Pañc. recension known to me. Quite the contrary! In short, the statement makes nonsense, if understood in this way. At most the words could mean 'told about the cause of his despair and about the mouse.' But (aside from the lack of *ca*) in the very next line the tortoise asks how on erth the crow came to be associated with the mouse—a quite unherd-of thing. Would he ask such a question if the crow had just 'explaind about the mouse' to him?—I would therefore read *nirvedakāraṇamukham ākhyātavān*, 'told about the beginnings of the cause of his despair.' The proximity of the word *ākhunā* might easily have caused the slight corruption (*u* has slipt under the wrong consonant).

74. 62.14 = 74.14-15, *bhavān ito mayā viyuktaḥ; tata ārabhya* . . . Hertel, 'Ihr hattet Euch hier von mir getrennt.' But this is flatly contradicted by the monk's own statement below, that they became separated at *Puṣkara*. Read (for *ito*) *yato*, to which the following *tata* is correlativ. 'From the time when you became separated from me . . .'

75. 64.6 = 76.11, *mṛgaṁ viddhvā*. The word *viddhvā* is Hertel's emendation for *a vyādhāvya* (p °*va*), *z vyādhādya*, R *hatvā*. But SP and n read *vyāpādya*, and it seems obvious that the Tantr. mss. readings are mere corruptions of this.

76. 64.11 = 76.15, *na me dhanur nā 'pi ca bāṇasaṁdhanam*. In view of the immediately preceding words *dhanuḥ saśaram ca kṛtve 'dam uvāca*, how can the hunter say 'I hav no bow'? Should we not read *dhanor* and °*saṁdhanāt*, depending on the expression of fearing in the next pāda? 'Not of my bow nor of

the putting on of my arrow does this boar show any fear at-all (*kim*)!' This fits the requirements of the context admirably.

77. 66.5 = 78.15, *kenāpi sādhanā*. This reference to a 'holy man' as depositor of the mouse's hidden treasure is a strange bit of satire—if correct. The Syr has 'Ich weiss nicht wie,' which suggests *kenāpi sādhanena*, 'by som means or other.' Arabic similarly.

78. 68.17 = 81.15. For this line the β mss. read: *śūnyah kṣaṇena bhavati 'ty alicitram etat*. In his discussion of this line (reff. in his notes) Hertel seems to me to pay insufficient attention to the fact that the α mss. also hav this version of the pāda (with omission of the first word), added after the next-following prose sentence! This seems to me clearly to indicate that the version found first in the α mss., and adopted in Hertel's text, interesting as it is *per se*, is a secondary doublet; the tru version is surely that found in both groups of mss. The progenitor of the α mss. inserted the variant, doutless on the margin; and later copyists inserted it in the text—but without deleting the original reading, which has merely got crowded out of place, with accidental loss of the first word. This is confirmd by the fact that other versions of the stanza read substantially with β (e. g. Vikrama-carita SR. 21.8, as wel as all other Pañc. versions). But the first word, *śūnyah*, found in the β mss., is obviously corrupt; it has crept in from the preceding stanza (of β), 59, where the stem *śūnya* is four times repeated. The tru reading is *so 'nyah*. The Vikr. version is: *so 'py anya eva bhavati 'ti kim atra citram*. SP, n, Hit, and Pūrṇ agree practically with Tantr. β ; for *śūnyah* (*so 'nyah*) SP and Pūrṇ read *cā 'nyah* (but SP α *ko 'nyah*), n *cānma*, Hit *anyah*.

79. 70.1 = 83.6, *girivarataṭūd*. In the preceding pāda of this stanza Hertel (quite rightly) emended mss. *param* to *varam*. It seems to me that in this pāda *vara* should clearly be changed to *para*; in other words, the mss. hav simply exchanged the words *vara* and *para* in the two lines (a process the like of which occurs repeatedly, cf. number 84 below). 'From the slope of a mountain-summit.'

80. 75.23 = 89.26, *saṁcīyate*. This is Hertel's emendation for mss. *saṁ*(or *sa*, or *ca*)-*dīyate*. The same sense would be given by *saṁdhīyate*, which would be nearer to the reading of the mss.; *d* and *dh* ar frequently confused.

81. 76.19 = 91.2, *cittam āsthāya*. Hertel, 'richtete seinen Sinn auf.' Surely *āsthāpya* should be red.

82. 79.19-20 = 94.8, *bhogā īdrśo me bhavantu, kim dhanena* (mss. *tv anena*, see number 19 above) . . . This is a hard passage. The words *bhogā īdrśo* ar Hertel's guess for a *bhoga-varmano*, β *bhogā-drśo*. Moreover a has *bhavatu*. I suggest, tho without entire confidence: *bhogā īdrśo me bhavatu, kim tv anena* [sc. *bhogena*] . . . This is at least much closer to the mss. than Hertel's reading, and it seems to make good sense.

83. 83.6 = 98.14, *ca vittaṣṭhā 'sti*. Surely an impossible form; at least I cannot understand it. I can suggest nothing better than the Mbh. reading (cf. Thomas, *JRAS* 1910, p. 1350), *pariniṣṭhā 'sti*.

84. 87.16 = 104.4, *kasya mahotsavakalpāḥ priyasvajanasam-gamā na syuh*. This is a troublesom passage. In the first place, I believ we must read *yasya* for *kasya*; note that in the preceding pāda Hertel had to emend the mss. *yasya* to *kasya* (with Simpl and Pūrṇ)—rightly, I think; cf. my remarks under number 79 above. Simpl and Pūrṇ also read *yadi* for Tantr. mss. *kasya*, which seems to me to confirm my suggestion. In other words, the mss. hav got *yasya* and *kasya* interchanged. The usual Hindu habit of putting the relativ clause first, which this stanza violates, doutless had something to do with the double corruption. In the second place, Hertel's reconstruction of the second half of this line seems most unfortunate—altho som change from the mss. readings is necessary, as the meter shows. The mss. read: *priyajanasamāgama-(R°mā)-na* (P°*nas*, p°*nās*) *syuh*. Now this much seems to me clear, that *priyajana* here is set off against *dayitajana* of pāda a and *svajana* of pāda b. Hertel fails to see this, and renders all three as if they wer practically synonyms, making a very feeble stanza out of one that has a perfectly definit and pointed meaning. Hence, Hertel's insertion of *-sva-* in the last pāda cannot be right; for we hav *svajana* in pāda b, and pāda d certainly deals with something contrasted therewith.—By assuming a haplografic loss of a syllable *-nā-* (or *-na-*, cf. p's reading), we get a perfectly metrical version without any other change in the mss. reading. Thus: *priyajanasamāgamanā na syuh*. And we thereby get excellent sense in the entire stanza: 'Who could endure separation from

his beloved [*dayita-jana*], and parting from his family [*sva-jana*], wer it not for his association with friends [*priya-jana*], which is so like a great festival?' The only possible objection to my suggestion is that it makes *samāgamana* masculin (or possibly feminin, °*nā*? cf. Whitney, 1150 a), whereas it ought to be, and regularly is, neuter. But cf. my remarks on number 8 above, and also *āsvāda*, indubitably used as neuter in 70.10 = 83.15, altho we have not even the authority of a Hindu lexicografer, so far as recorded, for making it anything but masculin. Som masculin or feminin noun must belong in the present passage, as °*kalpāḥ* shows. And P and p point to an ending -*anās*.

IV. CORRECTIONS OF HERTEL'S TRANSLATION

I hav made no attempt to criticize Hertel's Translation rigorously. But in working over the text, I hav of course used the translation freely. And, naturally, I hav noted quite a number of points, large and small, in which I should hav chosen different language. The following notes make no pretense at exhaustiveness. They include the most important and certain of the changes I would make in the translation, in so far as they hav not been previously publisht by others (in reviews of Hertel's work). In other words, I append here only a few corrections (1) which seem to me so evidently sound as to make discussion unnecessary, and (2) which ar distinctly important to a correct understanding of the text (not mere turns of expression or minor matters), and (3) which hav not, to my knowledge, been printed before (with the single exception of No. 86).

85. 54.12 = 64.11, *āhāryāir dhānyakāṇāir*. Hertel 'zusammengelesen' for *āhāryāir*; rather, 'to serv as bait (food, *āhāra*).'

86. 61.7 = 73.7, *ekārimītratām tena gatas*. 'Die mit ihr, ihrer grössten Feindin, Freundschaft geschlossen hatte.' But *ekāri*° means 'a state of having the same enemies and friends,' 'an offensiv and defensiv alliance.' (This was questioningly suggested by Thomas, *JRAS* 1910, p. 1352.) SPa and n hav the same word (insted of Tantr. *ekāntamītratām*) in their version of Tantr. vs 38, where the context makes the meaning absolutely unmistakable.

87. 64.13 = 76.17, *prasahya*. Not 'mich beherrschend,' but 'decidedly,' 'assuredly.' In the same line I think that *asya niścayaṃ* means 'the certainty about him,' not 'seine Absicht.'

88. 68.21 = 81.19, *na cā 'pabhāṣaṇam*. Not 'und die Rede-weise [grammatisch] fehlerlos,' but 'and no reviling [in his speech].—In the preceding line H. renders *vilocane cā 'vikale ca vīkṣate* by 'Die Augen sind unversehrt und sehen,' as if we had *vīkṣete* (which by the way would be metrically impossible). The text seems to be incorrect, but I do not think of any very satisfactory emendation. The two *ca*'s are troublesome. I have thought of *vīkṣataḥ* and *vīkṣitum*; neither is over-attractive; nor does it seem helpful to take *vīkṣate* as dative of the active participle.

89. 69.13 = 82.14, *vāirāgyāharaṇam*. Not 'die Entfernung der Entsagung,' but quite the contrary, 'a cause of disgust with life.'

90. 69.14 = 82.15, *paryāyo maraṇasya*. Not 'die Wiederholung des Sterbens,' but 'a synonym for death.'

91. 71.24 = 85.9, *prāṇānāṃ ca dhanasya sādhanadhiyām anyonyahetuḥ paṇaḥ*. Hertel, with complete misunderstanding, 'Der Paṇa [eine kleine Münze] ist die gegenseitige Ursache der Ueberlegungen, wie man das Leben und das Gut erwerben kann.' It means: '[There is] a staking [hazard; *paṇa* = stake, in gambling etc.] of both life and wealth for the sake of each other on the part of those who are anxious to attain them.' People risk their lives for the sake of money, and vice versa. This is the whole point of the stanza, as is indicated by Hertel's own translation of the rest of it.

92. 80.6 = 94.18, *jīvitamātrasārāḥ*. Not 'vergeuden [eigentlich, verschleuchen] nur ihr Leben' (note that 'nur' in Hertel's rendering really modifies 'vergeuden,' whereas the Sanskrit order shows that it should modify 'Leben'); but 'are devoted solely to their (own) lives.'

93. 80.7-8 = 94.19-20, *kṛtā na . . . yāiḥ suhṛtsvayaṃgrāhavibhūṣaṇā śrīḥ*. Not 'die ihre Śrī . . . nicht freiwillig mit Freunden schmücken,' but 'who do not make their fortune the voluntary (= freely offered) adornment of their friends.'

Vss. 126 ff. (80.15 ff. = 95.6 ff.). The translation of these difficult stanzas will be greatly improved by consulting the com-

mentators on the Mbh., from which they are taken, as was pointed out by Thomas in his review of Hertel (*JRAS* for 1910, p. 1358 ff.). But for Thomas's reference I should have doubtless had no better luck with them than Hertel did.

94. 81.23 = 96.21, *āntīya . . . ghaṭayati vidhir abhimatam abhimukhībhūtaḥ*. Not 'bringt das Schicksal das Gewünschte . . . herbei, wenn es [= das Schicksal] sich uns zuwendet [wenn es uns geneigt ist],' but 'fate fetches . . . and presents itself and contrives its purpose.'

95. 89.19 = 106.19-20, *aṅgulapramāṇām khaṇḍaśaś chinnām rajjum*. Not 'den in fingerbreite Stückchen zernagten Strick,' but '(saw) the cord, which was thick as a man's finger, cut in pieces.'

THE IRANIAN GODS OF HEALING

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THE OBJECT OF THIS ARTICLE is an inquiry into the personalities, connections, and origins of the two chief Iranian gods of healing. Airyaman and Thrīta are among the most mysterious and most ancient figures of the Iranian pantheon, as were their Indian equivalents, Aryaman and Trita. Fresh light upon those deities cannot fail, therefore, to elucidate various questions concerning the mythology of the Aryans in general, and especially concerning the origins of the gods of healing.

I

Airyaman (Pahl. Irmān) is represented in the Avesta as the healer *par excellence*. In Vd. 22. 7 ff. it is said that Ahura Mazdah sent his messenger Nairyosānha into the brilliant palace of Airyaman (*airyamnō nmānəm*) to tell him that he would bestow upon him abundant blessings and provide him with 'spells, beneficent, desirable, holy, filling up what is empty, overflowing what is full, helping whosoever is weak, and restoring health to the sick.'

His conventional epithet is *išya*, 'desirable.' He has no mythical characteristics in the Avesta, and the same may be said of Aryaman in the Veda, where his name is very frequently mentioned, but seldom with any features of his own. He is closely associated with Varuna and Mitra. He partakes of the beneficent activity of Mitra. In RV. 1. 51. 9 he is invoked for rain: 'By thee, O Agni, Varuna, who protects law, and Mitra and Aryaman, the gods who pour water in abundance, are the winners.' He is, therefore, connected with water and fertility, as appears also from RV. 5. 3. 2, where Agni is addressed with the words: 'Thou art Aryaman when (the wooer) of maidens' (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 45). He is a kind, beneficent deity, essentially helpful to man both in India and in Iran. The name itself means 'the friend, the companion.' In the Gāthās

(32. 1, 33. 4, 49. 7) it is used as a common noun for the members of the fellowship of priests (*sodalis*).

Aryaman as the good companion of Mitra and Varuṇa is, therefore, the third member of the great triad of the Ādityas, the moral deities of India. The two first members do not vary, but the third one is either Indra, as on the very ancient inscription of Boghaz-Keui—Mitra-Varuṇa-Indra-Nāsatya—or the goddess Anāhita, as in the Old Persian triad of Auramazda-Mithra-Anahita (Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 78).

Indra is the god of storm and fertility (cf. especially Hopkins, *JAOS* 36. 242 ff.). Anāhita is the goddess of the heavenly waters, presiding over the production of life, securing fecundation, etc. (Yt. 5. 2, 6). It seems, therefore, that though the gods vary, the conception remains the same: the third member of the triad is a deity of heavenly waters and fertility.

Moulton (*op. cit.* pp. 78, 239) has shown the influence upon the Persian triad of the Babylonian parallel of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, in which the Semitic gods have the same moral attributes (god of supreme commands, god of justice, and goddess of fertility) as in the Iranian combination. While there is little doubt about the reality of such a contamination, I have endeavored in *AJTh* 21. 58-78 to collect evidence tending to show that a similar influence is likely to have been exerted at an earlier period by the other Babylonian triad, Sin-Shamash-Ramman, upon the triad Varuṇa-Mitra-Indra, or Varuṇa-Mitra-Aryaman.

Ramman or Adād is the Babylonian equivalent of Indra. He is the bellowing (*Ramman*) god of storm and the Marduk of rain (Jeremias, *Alt. Testam.* p. 41). With rain, he bestows abundance (Jastrow, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 237) and all kinds of blessings. Like Aryaman, he is the helper *par excellence* and the faithful companion of Shamash who, like Mitra, is a god of justice associated with the light of the sun.

In conclusion, though it is impossible to obtain any certainty in the case of Aryaman, it may be said that the various indications which we possess about his character coincide in presenting him as a god of rain and of fertility who is essentially helpful to man. It is only reasonable to regard his functions of healer in Iran as a secondary but very natural development out of these elements. We are not yet informed about his abode (*nmāna*); but the study of the next character will throw light on this point.

II

The other great physician-god of Iran is Thrīta: 'Thrīta, O Spitama Zarathushtra, among the beneficent, strong, clever, powerful ancestors was the first to divert disease, death, lances, and fevers from man's body' (Vd. 20. 2).

In Ys. 10. 10 the same Thrīta is mentioned as one of the great primeval priests—the third—who offered the sacrifice of haoma (= soma); and as a reward for his pious act, he became the father of a hero, Kərəsāspa, a great slayer of fiends.

The second priest, Āthwya, had been similarly favored with the birth of a no less conspicuous hero, Thraētaona, the well-known conqueror of Azhi Dahāka, the dragon.

Thraētaona is better known under his Persian name of Farīdūn. In the Shāhnāmāh he rids the world of Dahhāk, the anthromorphized dragon, changed into an Arabic usurper and tyrant. Now, Thraētaona is also a healer; and as early as the Avesta, his fravaši is invoked against 'itching, hot fever, bad humors, cold fever, and the other evils created by the serpent' (Yt. 13. 131), words which reveal a certain connection between his healing activity and his power over the fiends; while in Vd. 20. 2 he is represented as 'keeping back death, disease, flying arrows(?), and burning fever from man's body,' very much in the same way as he releases the world from dragons.

In later times, Farīdūn (= Thraētaona) becomes the great healer who gives their power to spells and amulets: 'May the sick man by the strength of Farīdūn, son of Āthwyan, and by the power of the northern stars obtain health, (J. J. Modi, *Charms for the Diseases of the Eye*, Bombay, 1894).

If we turn to India, we find there the three Iranian personalities concentrated in one god, Trīta Āptya (= Thrīta Āthwya). Traitana, the probable equivalent of Thraētaona, is just named in the Veda (RV. 1. 158. 5), while his functions are completely absorbed into Trīta's activities.

Thrīta, like Trīta, is an old, wise, and very beneficent deity, a deliverer, a repeller of all the foes that threaten man's existence. He is a bestower of long life (TS. 1. 8. 10. 2). Though he is not explicitly represented as a curer of diseases, his connection with the plant of life, the soma, makes him a powerful healer. While Thrīta offered the haoma-sacrifice in

primeval times, Trita is the great preparer of soma (RV. 2. 11. 20, and the whole ninth book). It is Trita's maidens who urge the tawny drop with stones for Indra to drink (RV. 9. 32. 2), and Macdonell (*op. cit.* p. 67) interprets Trita's maidens in this passage as meaning 'the fingers.' This is, it is true, a possible metaphor of the Vedic mystics, but these maidens are likely to have been originally identical with those released in Iran by Thraëtaona—Sanhavam and Arənavam, the two daughters (or sisters) of Yima, given to him by the water-goddess Arədvī Sūra (Yt. 5. 34).¹ This aqueous adventure of Thraëtaona has a parallel in the Vedas, where Trita's characteristic action is the release of the cows on high (i. e. the waters) detained by Vṛtra, the cloud-demon (RV. 10. 8. 8), or by Viśvarūpa (RV. 10. 9. 8), the tricephalous monster, in the same manner as the two maidens were captured by Azhi Dahāka, the cloud-dragon in the Iranian form of the rain-myth.

The victory over the fiend, it is true, is in the Vedic hymns more often ascribed to Indra, yet Trita appears in the conflict as a helper who strengthens Indra by bringing to him the soma which it is his function to press and to pour (RV. 2. 11. 20, and other texts in Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 67).

The connection of Trita with waters, which is shown in these various activities, also appears in the ability displayed by Trita in piercing the strongholds of heaven (i. e. the clouds) in which water is detained (RV. 1. 52. 4, 5. 86. 1), another form of the rain-myth. During the storm, 'when the mighty Maruts go forth and the lightnings flash, Trita thunders and the waters roar' (RV. 5. 54. 2).

The action of Trita upon the soma is also to make it flow: soma occupies the secret place near the two pressing stones of Trita (RV. 9. 102. 2). It is besought to bring wealth in a stream on the ridges of Trita (RV. 9. 102. 3; Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 68); and when soma pours the mead, it calls up the name of Trita (RV. 9. 36. 20). But Trita is related to water in another way. In RV. 1. 105. 17 Trita is described as buried in a well (*kūpa*),

¹ In Shāhnāmāh 1. 162, the two daughters of Jamshīd (= Yima), released by Farīdūn (= Thraëtaona), have to go through a bath, a particular which, no doubt, shows traces of the old aqueous myth in a thoroughly epic period.

while in RV. 10. 8. 1 he is in a pit (*vavra*). These stories seem to perpetuate the old tradition of the dwelling of Trita in a remote, hidden (RV. 9. 102. 2), watery abode, into which ill deeds and evil dreams are sent in the same way as we wish many unpleasant things to go to hell (RV. 8. 47. 13).

There is, therefore, no reason to give up the traditional interpretation of the epithet *āptya* as 'watery,' though the suffix is somewhat surprising.²

Beyond his aquatic attributes, Trita shows connections only with the wind. In a hymn to Agni the winds are said to have found Trita instructing him to help them (RV. 10. 115. 4). The flames of Agni rise when Trita in the sky blows upon him like a smelter and sharpens him as in a smelting furnace (RV. 5. 9. 5; Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 67).

Trita, eagerly (like wind?) seeking the fire, found it on the head of the cow, says RV. 10. 46. 3, a very curious expression which I suspect to allude to an old Indo-Iranian myth preserved in Bundahiš 17. 4: 'In the reign of Takmōrup (= Takhma Urupi, one of the primeval heroes), when men continually passed, on the back of the ox Sarsaok, . . . one night amid the sea, the wind rushed upon the fire-place . . . such as was provided in three places on the back of the ox . . . and all those three fires, like three breathing souls, continually shot up in the place and position of the fire on the back of the ox, so that it becomes quite light, and the men pass again through the sea' (West's translation, *SBE* 5. 62-63). It would be vain in our state of knowledge to try to give a detailed interpretation of the story. It will be sufficient to note that the wind is the agent, and that the scene is in the sea.

This connection of the Indian Trita with the wind is probably due to his having absorbed Traitana's personality, since in the Avesta it is Thraētaona who acts as a wind-god. He notably blows far away the skilful waterman Paurva, 'the old man.' He was taken away in the form of a hawk and sent to a remote place. Only through the intervention of the water-goddess Arədvī Sūra could he return to his home (Yt. 5. 61). Another

² Sāyaṇa (on RV. 8. 47. 15) interprets it as 'son of waters,' and regards Trita as an equivalent of Apām napāt. As to the connection between those two personalities, Yt. 5. 72, though obscure, is suggestive.

time Thraētaona seized in the air the glory of Yima while it was flying in the form of the bird Vārəgan (Yt. 19. 36). He is said to have been born in the far-off, atmospheric land of 'Varəna with four ears,' meaning possibly the sky with its four cardinal points (Vd. 1. 17; on the identification of Av. *varəna*, Skr. *varuṇa*, with Gr. *ὠβaporos* cf. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 291 ff.).

The treatment inflicted upon the old waterman in the story of Paurva recalls the plight of Trita, the aged sage thrown into a remote pit by his companions (Sāyaṇa on RV. 1. 105), Ekata and Dvita, both born like him from the waters (Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 68). This again points to a close connection between Thraētaona and Thrīta, as the names already sufficiently suggest; and the remote abode is shown by this also to be an Indo-Iranian conception.

Collecting the various traits scattered in the Indian and Iranian traditions, one can with fair probability restore the myth as follows: There is an old water-god who is a wise man (Thrīta in Iran receives the epithet *paradhāta*, i. e. 'ancient legislator,' while in India it is said that wisdom is centered in Trita as the nave in the wheel [RV. 8. 41. 6]). He knows many things, notably spells. In his remote abode, a well, he presses the plant of life and sends the beneficent streams of soma upon earth. He is also active in releasing the waters on high, although in the celestial realm he appears rather as the adviser and helper of another god. The regular releaser of the cows (waters) in India is Indra. In Iran, it is, however, often Thraētaona (= Skr. *Traitana*). This slayer of dragons appears as the juvenile, sturdy companion of Trita and shows marked connections with the wind moving the clouds, bringing the storms, and urging the fire. He returns to the same watery abode as Trita; and perhaps the *nmāna* of Airyaman, the other god of healing and of rain, was originally identical with that secret abode of the wise water-god.

III

It is in the mythology of the Teutons that we find the closest parallel to the story of Trita. In general, water is conceived by Teutons as having healing power and wisdom (Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.* p. 132). Often enough that wisdom was embodied

in a little old waterman or a sea-dwarf, who was supposed to be rather good-natured and was expected to be helpful and to send good winds if an offering was thrown into the water (ib. p. 134). The murmur of springs, brooks, waves, etc., was supposed to be the laughter of the water-dwarf, and the idea of the laughing or prattling water is curiously well preserved, e. g., in the names of such Belgian brooks as *Jemappes*, *Jemeppe*, *Genappe* (= *gaman-apa*), or *Gaesbeek* ('prattling brook'). But besides the water-dwarf there were also water-giants. One of them is called Aegi ('aqueous,' which is almost an equivalent of *Āptya*), and with his wife, Ran, he lives in a golden palace under the sea or under the earth (Herrmann, *op. cit.* pp. 162 ff.), a circumstance which reminds us of Aryaman's abode. But the wisest water-god is Mimi (i. e. 'the thinker'; cf. Du. *mijmeren*, 'to reflect'), the spirit of the waters below. His wisdom is as deep as is his mysterious element. Mimi is an incarnation of skill, craft, and wisdom at the same time (Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Teutonic Mythol.*, tr. Voss, p. 232). He is the inspirer and adviser of Wōdan, the wind-god, an association similar to that of Thrita with Thraētaona. Wōdan has given him his eye as a pawn to obtain wisdom. Mimi's wisdom derives from his connection both with water and with wind. Wind is constantly blowing through the boughs of the great world-tree, the tree of life and wisdom, the so-called Yggdrasil's ash, or Mimadheir ('Mimi's tree'). This feature is common to Scandinavians and Finns, since the *Kalēvala* knows of a water-dwarf, later changed into a giant, who with an axe felled Wäinamöinen's world-tree, containing all the secrets of magic and happiness (S. Reinach, *Rev. celt.* 18. 250).

Now, Mimi lives in a well at the root of the world-tree. With his water he constantly keeps the marvellous vegetation in freshness and vigor (Herrmann, *op. cit.* p. 313), a feature which curiously resembles the relation of Trita to the plant of life and his presence in a well (Skr. *kūpa, vavra*). Like Trita, Mimi is at times ill-treated, and even his head was cut off by the Wanen (ib. pp. 313 ff.). But Wōdan, being unable to dispense with Mimi's wisdom, embalmed the head, and, using it as a drinking horn, could through its inspiration invent the runes. To the Scandinavian, 'Mimi's head' means 'spring' or 'source of wisdom' (ib. p. 314).

According to another myth, it is Mimi who drinks mead in a horn, which reminds us of Trita preparing the mead as the soma for the gods who drink it in a horn (= the moon).

IV

The conceptions of the Greeks in connection with the water-gods reproduce many features found in the mythology of both Teutons and Indo-Iranians.

In parallelism to Midgardh and the Midgardh-serpent, which surrounds it, there is the myth of 'Οκεανός, flowing around the earth. He is an old man, living with his consort, Tethys, on the ridge of the earth. The daughter of 'Οκεανός, Σπίξ, represents the waters of the nether world and is, therefore, also the source of unfathomed wisdom by which the gods avouch their most solemn assertions.

But the wisdom of waters is more properly embodied in the figure of the old man of the waters, "Αλιος γέρον (Steuding, *Griech. Myth.* p. 56). Like Aegi and Trita, he lives in a remote abode, a cave somewhere in the depths of the sea. He possesses fathomless wisdom, but whoever wishes to know his secrets must first conquer him in battle (cf. the treatment of Mimi).

The "Αλιος γέρον has assumed various forms in Greece. He is conceived as Νηρείς, the old prophet of the sea, father of the Nereids, or he is Γλανκός, the fisherman who, while walking on the sea-shore, saw some fish eating an herb that gave them new vigor. Having eaten of that plant, he sprang into the sea and was admitted into the circle of the gods, a story which emphasizes the connection between the old man of the sea and the plant of life at the same time that it betrays the influence on Greek myths of the Babylonian story of Adapa, the son of Ea, god of waters and wisdom.*

There is also Τρίτων, who lived in an undersea palace. His chief attribute was a sea-shell which he used as a horn (cf. Mimi's horn) and which gave him command of the winds, so that he could arouse or calm the sea at will. While Mimi drinks mead

* Adapa, as a fisherman, was found on the sea-shore and brought into the house of gods. There he was offered the food of life, that was to make him immortal, but he declined to eat it.

in his horn and Trita prepares the soma, Τρίτων is fond of wine and in his drunkenness is brought into a trap set by the people of Tanagra. Asleep on the shore, he was decapitated with an axe, so that the statue of Triton in Tanagra was headless. This story most probably is a survival of the myth of Mimi's head.

The radical *trīto-* in Triton's name is found in the name of other gods, Ἀμφιτρίτη, Τριτώνη, Τριτωνίς, Τριτογένεια Ἀθηνᾶ, etc.

Among those deities, Ἀμφιτρίτη, the well-known goddess, has a name which may be compared with those of other water-gods, e. g. Ἀμφίβαιος, 'surrounding the earth,' an epithet of Poseidon, Ἀμφίμαρος, a son of the latter god, whose name probably means 'living about the sea,' containing the root of Latin *mare*, Russ. *more*, etc. (Walde, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der lat. Sprache*, p. 465).

The element *trīto-*, which therefore in Ἀμφιτρίτη seems in some manner to denote the sea, also appears to refer to water in the name of Τριτώνη or Τριτωνίς, 'Triton's wife,' one of the epithets of Τριτογένεια Ἀθηνᾶ. Athene, one of the main Greek goddesses, has broadened her domain by absorbing many local cults of female divinities and has become an almost supermythical deity. She is the ἀρχηγέτης, the wise founder and protector of cities *par excellence*, a female counterpart of *paradhāta* Thrīta. The same conception is also found in the Teutonic goddess Saga, who is decidedly a water-spirit living in Fensalir, the submarine palace of which we have already heard so much (Herrmann, *op. cit.* p. 316). Between Athene and these deities there is, of course, only a general resemblance due to the association of water with wisdom in the minds of the ancient people. This association is quite clear in the mythical aspect of Athene. The story of her birth, as is well known, is a thinly disguised storm-myth with the normal features of such myths, as the swallowing of a bright goddess (Μῆτις, pregnant of Athene), the flash of the thunderbolt (the sudden birth of Athene with the lance and the αἰγίς), or the loud voice of the thunder (Zeus utters a war-cry when he sees his brilliant daughter); and like all the Aryan storm-myths it takes place in a mythical sea (e. g. the Hara Bərəzaiti and the sea *Vourukaša* of the Iranians) which in the Greek version is the Triton-river.

The geographers cannot determine with precision the location of this river. Like all mythical names, it is found in many places

in the Greek world, although tradition places the scene in the remote west, the far-away watery recess from which, according to the old conception of the Greeks, storms rush upon the earth (Roscher, *Gorgonen*, p. 30). Mētis, the mother of Athene in the classical form of the myth, is an abstraction. She is the daughter of Ὠκεανός, and the chances are that originally Athene, like Τρίτων, was directly born from Ὠκεανός, so that Τρίτων and Τριτώνη constituted a pair of crafty and wise children of the wise water-god.

V

The question now arises whether there can be any relationship between the names of the Greek sea-gods and those of the Indo-Iranian water-deities, Trita and Traitana.

The element *trīto-* is still uninterpreted (Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* p. 1143, note). The suggestion that it is related to Gr. *τρίζω* (Roscher, *Lex.* 1. 1. 318) is not serious, for this word means 'to scream, to cry,' and is properly used of young animals, although it is later extended to various shrill noises. The root is *τριγ-*, not *τρι-*, as is shown by the perfect *τέτριγα*.

On account of the long *i* it is scarcely possible to connect *trīto-* with *τριτός*, 'third.' The only conceivable relation would be with the root of Latin *tero*, *trīvi*, *trītum*. The meaning of 'rubbing, treading, grinding so as to make smooth or soft' does not seem, at first sight, to suit the derivatives of *trīto-*, but in Mid. Irish there is a word *triath* meaning 'soft, weak' (cf. *τέπς* 'weak'), apparently akin to the stem of *trītum*, and a homonym *triath*, gen. *trethan*, 'sea,' which may be a different word, though very probably related to the former. The link between those two meanings is suggested by Arm. *threm*, 'to knead dough.'

The Latin verb *tero* was used of the earth and of the corn. A plough horse was a *trio*, while corn was *triticum*, 'the threshed, ground one' (Walde, *op. cit.* p. 793). The meaning 'soft, weak' is, moreover, present in many other derivatives of the root, as Sab. *terenum*, 'soft,' Skr. *taruṇa*, 'young,' Gr. *τέρεμνα*, 'vegetables easy to cook,' *τέρην*, 'tender,' *ἀτέραμνος*, 'hard,' etc.

In the name of the Indian water-god Trita, the *i* is short, which disagrees with the long *i* of *τρίτων*, etc. The shortening of the *i*, however, could easily be explained as a contamination with Indo-European *trīto-*, 'third' (cf. Gr. *τριτός*); and that such an inter-

pretation of the name took place among both Iranians and Indians is proved by various circumstances.⁴

It cannot be a mere coincidence that Thrīta in Iran is represented as the third sacrificer (Ys. 9. 10), while in Yt. 5. 72 Thrīta is also the third among three brothers.

In India, in a hymn of the Rig Veda (8. 47. 16), Trita as 'third' is mentioned with Dvita, 'second.' Sāyana (on RV. 1. 105. 8) quotes a story of three brothers born from the waters, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita. The two former cast the latter into a well, as was stated above. The names of Ekata and Dvita do not appear outside these passages; nothing is known of these personalities, and it is more than likely that the names were invented to account for that of Trita, understood as 'third.' All this shows that in the minds of the people, both in India and in Iran, Trita meant 'Third,' but the part played by folk-etymology is so great in languages and mythologies that we have no serious reason to believe that this was the original meaning of the name.

Nothing in the essential and ancient features of Trita's personality can account for his being called 'the Third.' It is, therefore, no unreasonable hypothesis that the name was originally *Trīta*, akin to *Τρίτων*, etc., but that the *ī* was shortened because of a folk-etymology which identified Trita with **trita*, 'third.'

As a conclusion, the probabilities are that the original meaning of Trita's name was 'soft, humid.' Such a slightly ironical appellative for the Old Man of the Waters was not irrelevant. It was perfectly consistent with the epithet *Āptya* applied to Trita in India and with the essential features of his character, which, as aforesaid, all point to his connection with water. The comparison with Gr. *Τρίτων*, *Τριτώνη*, etc., makes it even likely that the name as well as the personality of the wizard of the

⁴ The identification of Trita with *τρίτων* had been proposed in 1896 by J. Escher (*Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Heraklēs*). As is often the case the value of the thesis was impaired by the feebleness of the argument, so that Kretschmer (*Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil.* 8. 339) easily demonstrated the weakness of the construction. His only objections, however, were that (1) Trita is not a water-god; and (2) the *i* is long in *τρίτων*. The present study, though it does not absolutely decide the matter, will show the weakness of those objections.

waters goes back to Indo-European times. The value of this etymology, however, may be doubted without impairing the conclusion that Trita is the Indian representative of an Indo-European conception.

VI

The fact that the great healers of Iran (Thrita and Airyaman), the wise experts in spells and remedies, originally were water-gods is by no means surprising.

The connection between water and wisdom has been found to be an essential element—a basic feature—of the mythologies and beliefs of both Teutons and Greeks. It is germane to state that—leaving aside the question of actual influences—the conceptions of the Babylonians offer in this respect a remarkable parallel to those of the Indo-Europeans. Like the Greeks, the Babylonians believed in an ocean (*apsū*) which was both the earthly sea and the Deep—heavenly or subterranean—surrounding the Earth. This abyss of water is also called Zu-Ab, 'House of Wisdom' (Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 29). The god of these regions—Ea, 'god of water,' or Enki, 'Lord of the Deep' (Jeremias, *loc. cit.*)—is regarded as the source of all wisdom, as the counsellor of gods, kings, and men. He is the bringer of civilization. Berosus tells us that a mysterious being (Oannes = Ea), half-man, half-fish, passing the nights in the Persian Gulf, would come out of the water during the day to give instruction to the people (Roscher, *op. cit.* 3. 577 ff.). Ea is the god of mankind. He saved men from the deluge and placated the anger of Bel (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 279) in the same way as Thraētaona saved mankind from the fury of Azhi Dahāka, who wished to make the seven parts of the world empty of men (Yt. 15. 19).

But the benevolence and good office of the water-god was especially observable in his activities as a healer. Ea cured all diseases, repelled all evil influences. He was the great magician of the world, knowing all fates. Just as Trita and Mimi were the counsellors, while Thraētaona and Wōdan were the killers of fiends, so Ea, the father of wisdom, was only the inspirer, while Bel, 'the practical activity emanating from Wisdom' (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 62), was the god who slew Tīāmat, the monster of chaos.

To come back to Aryan beliefs, the connection between water

and healing (also present in Ea) is no less marked than the association of Water with Wisdom.

Āpas, 'the waters,' are lauded in various hymns of the Rig Veda as purifying (RV. 10. 17. 10) and remedial (ib. 6. 50. 7).

They bestow remedies and long life (ib. 1. 23. 19; 10. 9. 5). They watch over man's health in the house (HGS. 2. 4. 5; Macdonnell, *op. cit.* p. 85). They bestow excellent strength and immortality (RV. 10. 9. 5).

The river-goddess Sarasvatī, 'the divine' (*asuryā*; cf. Av. *ahurāni*, 'the goddess of water'), is the bestower of vitality, wealth, and pregnancy (RV. 10. 30. 12; 2. 41. 17; 7. 95. 2).

Rudra, the storm-god who makes streams flow upon earth, likewise has beneficent and healing powers (Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 17); and he grants all possible remedies (RV. 2. 33. 12; 5. 42. 11; 7. 46. 3; 1. 114. 5; 2. 33. 7).

In Iran, waters are also said to be healing (Yt. 8. 47), while Arədvī Sūra Anāhita, the great water-goddess, is healing, comforting, unifying, fructifying, etc. (Ys. 65. 1; Yt. 5. 1, etc.). Vd. 21. 3 tells us that when it rains hard, the water is comforted, the earth is comforted, the plants are comforted, and so are the remedies and all the means of healing.

The fact that association between purifying waters and healing plants is found everywhere in Iran is explained in Bundahiš by the legend that Tištrya, the god of rain, sent down upon the earth water that had been mixed with the seeds of plants, and thus produced the thousand plants that keep away ten thousand diseases created by the Evil Spirit.

Plants, like waters, are called *baēšazya*, 'healing' (Vd. 20. 4), and the union between water and plants is symbolized by the pair of abstract deities Haurvatāt and Aməratāt ('Health' and 'Immortality'). Those entities belong to the circle of personified abstractions surrounding Ahura Mazdāh. In the preachings of Zoroaster, the words have their moral, philosophical meaning. They are used constantly together to denote the happiness of the blest: 'Give, O Aməratāt and Haurvatāt, your lasting blessing' (Ys. 33. 8); the following sentences make it clear that the blessing of Haurvatāt and Aməratāt refers to the delights of life 'that were, that are now, and that ever shall be' (ib. v. 10); and this boon is to be imparted by Vahišta Manah

(ib. v. 9), 'the Best Spirit,' whose name survives in Pers. *Bahisht* as a name of paradise.

But if those conceptions are wholly spiritual for the enlightened disciple of Zoroaster, they have a popular meaning as well. As early as Yt. 2. 3 *Aməretatāt* is associated with *Gaokərəna* (the tree of life) and with fertility, while in later Zoroastrianism, it is merely the religious name of plants. As to *Haurvatāt*, she is the deity of daily bread, the personification of abundance which in those countries is closely dependent upon rain, so that as early as Ys. 3. 1 and 8. 1, *Haurvatāt* denotes the waters.

In conclusion, therefore, the Iranians locate the vitalizing, healing power of nature in plants in general and especially in the tree *Gaokərəna*; but this tree grows in the sea *Vourukaša*, and water and plants are constantly associated. The germs of all vegetables were contained in the primeval rain of *Tištrya*, and the dual expression 'water and plants,' or its more abstract equivalent, 'Health and Immortality,' is the symbol of the completion of life and happiness. Similar ideas have been shown to prevail among Indians who magnify the healing power of waters. It is not surprising, therefore, that the gods of waters, the gods of rain, and the gods of storm are also the healing deities.

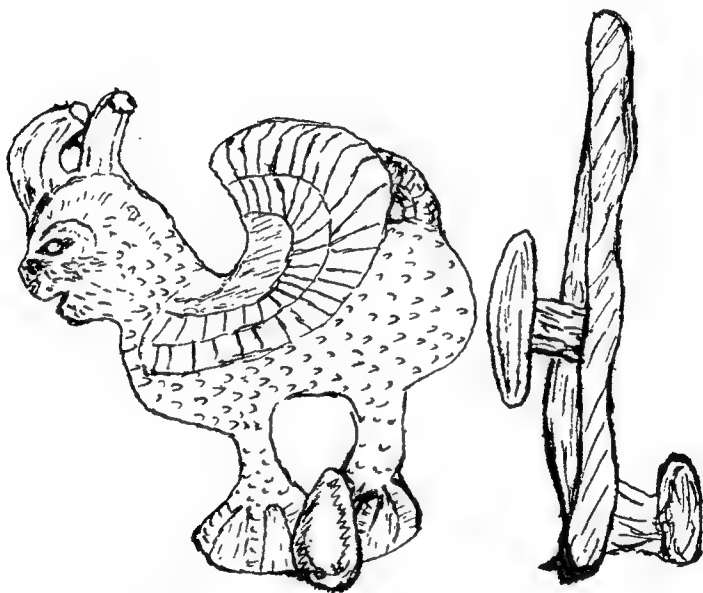
Since in most cases, especially in that of *Thrita* and *Thraëtaona*, as well as in that of *Rudra* and *Sarasvatī*, there can be no reasonable doubt that the watery character of the deities is the oldest and primary one, their attributes as healers as well as their wisdom—and, in general, their beneficent, vitalizing, fertilizing power—should be regarded as a secondary development.

In this lies the interest of *Trita's* story and of this article about the healing gods of Iran. It would not be reasonable to draw from this monograph conclusions of too general a character. Let it be observed, however, that it brings forward facts which are not in favor of the tendency, so prevalent in our days, to reduce most of the healing or fertilizing deities to anthropomorphized tribal spirits of fertility or deified medicine-men.

BRIEF NOTES

A Babylonian belt buckle

HEREWITH is given a specimen of phantastic zoology, which I found in the possession of a dealer. It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad, made of copper (not bronze), and from the metal composition may be dated about 3000 B. C. It came from Bagdad, and was encrusted by patina and dirt to three times its original thickness. I boiled it in a watery solution of copper



sulphate to remove the dirt. It then appeared evidently to be the left piece of a lady's fancy belt buckle. The back bears a T-shaped projection similar to a modern cuff button. Evidently a leather strip for the belt had a longitudinal slit on the end like a button-hole. The buckle was put in and turned at right angles to the strip. Between the horns and also between the tail and wings are holes for additional fastening by sewing. The front bears on the bottom a hook to catch the hole of the

right-side piece. The specimen is a flat plastic representation of a demon looking upward. The face resembles that of a dog, transformed to a partly human character, like that of a bulldog. The head bears two short goat horns curved backward. The body is that of a quadruped. It bears wings of unnatural curvature and without joints, of the style known from the later Assyrian art. The feathers are arranged in three rows as common in winged old-Egyptian and old-Babylonian representations. The feathers show the correct direction of the axis, as common in the oldest Babylonian art, as against the feather representation of the later Assyrian age, which shows an unnatural axis. The tail is curved up, and its end is covered by the wing and so invisible. The legs bear no real feet but only bird toes. The right part of the belt buckle may have repeated the same demon in symmetrical arrangement, together with possibly a middle piece, perhaps a tree or fruit. This buckle is a specimen of jewelry of people of higher class, but in comparison with the stoneware of the plainer people, it is less true to nature through the influence of syncretism and symbolism.

Since the above was written the specimen has been purchased by Colonel Fridtjev Anderson, of the Norwegian army, now on duty in this country, and presented by him to the Metropolitan Museum.

FELIX VON OEFELE

New York

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

AGREEMENT WITH THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, MADE BY THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, CONCERNING A PLAN FOR RELATIONS OF MUTUAL HELPFULNESS.*

ABOUT THREE WEEKS before the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in April, 1918, the following circular was issued by Mr. Lanman. It was sent to all Corporate Members, excepting several in foreign lands who were not to be reached on account of the war.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY CONCERNING A FRENCH PLAN FOR SECURING CLOSER RELATIONS OF MUTUAL HELPFULNESS BETWEEN THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE AND OUR OWN

From CHARLES R. LANMAN, a member of the Society
9 Farrar Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts

DEAR SIR OR MADAM:

March 14, 1918

Subjoined is a letter to the undersigned from the President of the Société Asiatique, M. Emile Senart, Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of the Institute of France, etc.

In brief, it proposes that a number of the Oriental Societies of the Western World shall coöperate for the following purposes:

1. Of giving to the members of any one of the societies the right to attend the sessions of any of the others, to make use of its libraries and other collections, and to purchase its publications at the same reduced prices as are accorded to its own members.
2. Of establishing a series of joint meetings, probably annual ones,—each society to send its delegates, who should report upon the condition and progress of Oriental studies, and suggest plans for joint scientific undertakings, and arrange for coöperation in their execution.

* By a combination of untoward circumstances affecting both the Editor and Mr. Lanman, it has happened that an essential part of Mr. Lanman's Report was omitted in Part 4, and that the omission was not discovered until too late. If the omitted fragments were printed by themselves in Part 5, we should indeed constructively have the whole Report within the covers of the Journal, but not in a convenient and proper sequence. Accordingly, and at Mr. Lanman's earnest request, the Report is here given in its entirety, although it does involve a duplication of the paragraphs already given in Part 4.—[Ed.]

The suggestion comes most appropriately from the Société Asiatique (founded in 1822), as being the oldest of the Occidental organizations for the study of the Orient. The Society's overtures have already met with a most cordial response from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. They merit one no less cordial from our American Society.

By a happy coincidence, just as I had written the foregoing paragraphs, there comes to hand the January number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the "Notes of the Quarter, October-December, 1917," it contains, on pages 186-197, "An agreement concluded between the Royal Asiatic Society and the Société Asiatique of Paris," with an account of the preliminary correspondence and negotiations, and with the protocol of the terms of agreement. The beginning of the negotiations was the letter of M. Senart to Lord Reay of December 19, 1916. At a meeting of the Committee of the London Society held July 2, it was resolved to recommend this protocol for acceptance by the Council. It was approved by the Council October 16, 1917, and its substance was announced at a meeting of the Society on November 13, 1917.

The American society holds meetings only once a year, because, for so widely scattered a membership, attendance costs so much in long-distance travel and in time and money. The societies of Paris and London have monthly meetings—a great advantage for the prompt transaction of business. Thus, although M. Senart's letter arrived last September, there seemed to be no way of taking any formal action upon it until the next meeting, that is, in April. But even so, without proper notice and information given beforehand to the members, it might well happen that due consideration and action might not prove feasible within the brief days of our assembly, so that the matter might lie over for a twelvemonth. To forestall so undesirable an outcome, it seemed fitting to bring M. Senart's proposals to the cognizance of all the members of the American society, in printed form, and in ample time for leisurely consideration, and so that all the members—whether they attend in person or not—may express their opinion in writing, if they wish to do so. Such expressions may be sent to the undersigned, who will be glad to lay them before the meeting.

First then, the gist of M. Senart's letter to Lord Reay.—Our studies are such as, by reason of the fewness of those who pursue them, cannot well be confined within national lines. The International Congresses of the last forty years have not served their purpose well. We have not so much to replace them as to take a better course with regard to them. They should be less comprehensive but more constant, smaller in respect of numbers but more active, less of a social nature and more of an expert

character. They would be susceptible of gradual extension: but the international rapprochements must needs begin with representatives of countries thoroughly united in heart and soul, as ours are, by a common struggle for existence and an imperative obligation to prepare for a common future.

The French Committee (M. Senart, Chairman), in response to the invitation of the British Committee, sent a draft of their proposals, the principal points of which, in addition to those already mentioned, are as follows: This plan is only one instance of a general disposition in all minds to extend the salutary action of the Entente more and more to the very mainsprings of the political and economic and intellectual life of our nations. Coöperation between academies and universities has already been initiated. It is meet that the two oldest Asiatic Societies of Europe should do likewise.

Evidently this rapprochement does not necessarily imply anything of an exclusive nature. Our thoughts go out to all our friends and allies. We cannot more effectively prepare for a wider federation than by constituting, to begin with, a solid nucleus, which, formed by the oldest societies, may serve as an example and *point d'appui* for similar societies. In organizing this union, we are making use of a right which no one can dispute. With all respect for honorable scruples, the Committee is conscious of performing a work of peace and not an act of war.

Further, as regards publications on the one hand and researches on the other, the French Committee adds: 1. It would be well to regulate our interchanges, and also to undertake works in collaboration and at joint expense, whether editions of texts of the type of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, or series of translations analogous to those undertaken by the Royal Asiatic Society, or works of a more complex character—among which one might for instance contemplate a Buddhist Encyclopædia, an annotated collection of the Chinese Pilgrims in India, and so on.

2. It would be very desirable that our societies, the natural representatives of the interests of Orientalism, should assume as far as possible the charge of securing and utilizing, in the best interests of scientific progress, the funds available for research and for the staff of investigators. In any case, these societies would owe it to themselves to serve, if required, as a connecting link between the Governments, to place at the service of the central and colonial administrations the means of information which they have at their disposal, to extend mutually, on every occasion, an enlightened protection to scientists charged with missions, to professors called, directly or by way of exchange, to chairs in universities and Oriental schools.

The British Committee, in a reply formally sanctioned by the Royal Asiatic Society in May, 1917, cordially approves the pro-

posals of the French Committee, recognizes the distinction between measures of organization and programs of work, leaves the latter for subsequent joint consultations, and in general accepts the former. It suggests that the two Committees might be made Standing Committees, and be authorized to discuss any matters falling within their scope and to report upon them from time to time to the Councils. It adds that the proposed terms of agreement, being susceptible of application to similar societies in other countries, promise in course of time to serve as a means of consolidating the dispersed Associations of Orientalists, and thereby to increase their common efficiency. It invites the French Society to accept the hospitality of the British as soon as may be after the war.

The French Committee, through M. Senart, made answer on June 21, 1917. The reply expresses the great satisfaction of the Société Asiatique; announces that the Society immediately sanctioned the proposal that the two Committees be made permanent ones; and is especially concerned with the extension of the measures of friendly coöperation to other similar societies.

With this answer the French Committee enclosed the protocol. As its terms have already been given in substance, there is no need to reprint it here verbatim (see pages 196-197 of the London Journal).

M. Senart's letter to the undersigned now follows. The first three paragraphs of his letter and the last, as being of an interest largely personal, are left out, and also the four paragraphs which give the substance of the protocol.

MON CHER AMI:

le 16 août 1917

. . . Il n'est pas seulement infiniment désirable de remplacer les anciens congrès internationaux par une organisation plus sérieuse, plus permanente, moins mêlée d'intrigues; entre les alliés qu'ont unis si étroitement, avec des intérêts vitaux, des sentiments et des aspirations inébranlables, il est également essentiel d'assurer après la guerre des liens de collaboration confiante qui en soient la sauvegarde durable.

C'est sous l'empire de ces pensées qu'il m'a paru hautement désirable de préparer dès maintenant entre les principales Sociétés d'études orientales une entente amicale dont notre Société Asiatique, comme l'aînée de celles de l'Occident, était fondée à prendre l'initiative.

La marche était toute tracée. Cette sorte de fédération devrait embrasser tous les pays alliés; mais il fallait s'adresser d'abord aux voisins les plus proches; le premier noyau assuré aurait

plus d'autorité pour faire appel aux amis plus éloignés, non par le cœur mais par l'espace.

Mes ouvertures ont reçu de la R. Asiatic Society de Londres l'accueil le plus empressé. Des Commissions ont été constituées de part et d'autre pour arrêter les termes précis d'une convention, et bien qu'aucune décision officielle n'ait pu intervenir encore, la dernière réponse que j'ai reçue de Londres me donne la pleine confiance que les formules d'arrangement élaborées recevront, à l'issue des vacances, l'agrément exprès de la société britannique.

Dans ces conditions, sans attendre l'heure des démarches officielles, je me sens pressé de donner satisfaction au vœu qui s'est, dès le début, manifesté explicitement de part et d'autre et d'intéresser à ces projets nos confrères de l'American Oriental Society. Je ne saurais m'adresser à un meilleur juge ni à un intermédiaire plus autorisé que vous, mon cher ami.¹ . . .

Je ne vous indique ici que les idées principales et caractéristiques. Naturellement la porte reste ouverte à toutes autres innovations utiles qui pourraient être proposées. Ce qui importe, c'est l'inspiration générale. C'est elle que j'ai hâte de vous soumettre, non-seulement pour réclamer votre appréciation réfléchie, mais si, comme je n'en doute pas, elle éveille votre sympathie, pour vous prier d'en acheminer l'application au regard de l'American Oriental Society. Vous pourriez sans doute avancer beaucoup l'heure, j'espère prochaine, de réalisations positives. Ai-je besoin d'ajouter, mon cher Lanman, combien il me serait particulièrement agréable de compter sur votre assistance dans cette tentative? Vous comprendrez que la cordialité américaine dont nous recevons dans ces temps d'épreuves tant d'inoubliables témoignages donne, à nos yeux, le plus haut prix à toute association franco-américaine. . . .

Croyez-moi, mon cher ami, votre tout dévoué

EMILE SENART

It is competent for the President of the American Oriental Society to appoint a Committee to discuss this matter before the time of the general meeting of next month, and to report thereon to the Board of Directors. The Board, in turn, can then report the plan to the Society, with a recommendation that the Society, after due consideration and discussion, shall reject or modify or accept it.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES R. LANMAN

¹ Here follow four paragraphs, the substance of which has been given above.

A Committee was duly appointed by the President, as suggested in the foregoing paragraph. It consisted of Messrs. Bursage, Gottheil, Hopkins, Jastrow, and Lanman. As stated below, the Committee-meeting was held at New Haven on April 1, 1918, and it was decided that the plan should be favorably reported to the Board of Directors for such action as might to them seem fit. The further and more formal procedure is given in paragraphs 5-10 of the following letter, which letter is the Committee's formal response to the President of the Société Asiatique.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, May 13, 1918

To M. Emile Senart, President of the Société Asiatique, Paris, France

HONORED AND DEAR SIR:

In response to your most welcome communication concerning a plan for establishing closer relations of mutual helpfulness between the two senior Oriental Societies of the Western world, the Société Asiatique and the Royal Asiatic Society on the one hand, and the next in seniority, the American Oriental Society on the other,—I beg leave to present to the Société Asiatique through you the subjoined formal Report.

Two brief informal Reports, one of progress and one of the successful issue of the negotiations, were sent as cable-messages by me to you March 15, 1918, and April 4, 1918. Distressed in mind by the delay in sending this formal Report,—I beg that the Societies as a whole and that you, dear friend, in particular, will forgive me for this tardiness. It is due in part to the extreme pressure of professional duty, and in part also to the grave responsibilities and labors, anxieties and griefs, which Prussia has imposed upon lovers of freedom under law, upon lovers of decency and mercy and justice and truth—the world over.

As appears from my Circular Letter to the Members of the American Oriental Society, which is dated March 14, 1918, and of which two printed copies are enclosed, our American Society can hold only one meeting a year, because of the large expense in time and money and travel involved. On this account there seemed to be no feasible way of taking formal action on your welcome proposals until the actual meeting of last month. To make adequate preparation for such action on the part of our Society seemed to me to be the best and most serviceable procedure that could be taken in view of your letter.

That preparation I endeavored to effect by the above-mentioned Circular Letter. This was sent to all the widely-scattered mem-

bers of our Society now in America in ample time before the date of the annual meeting. Numerous and favorable replies were received from parts—near or distant—of this continent before the meeting. The President of the Society, Professor Torrey of Yale University, thereupon appointed, as a Committee to consider and discuss the matter before the date of the general assemblies, the following gentlemen: Mr. Charles Dana Burrage of Boston; Professor Richard Gottheil of Columbia University; Professor Edward Washburn Hopkins of Yale University; Professor Morris Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania; and, as Chairman, Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman of Harvard University. The Committee-meeting was held at New Haven on April 1, 1918, and it was decided that the plan should be favorably reported to the Board of Directors for such action as might seem to them fit.

The further and more formal procedure was as follows: On April 2, 1918, the Board of Directors of the Society met at New Haven. The meeting was an unusually full and interesting one. At this meeting, the following votes were passed.

Voted: That the Directors of the American Oriental Society recommend to the Society that the proposals from the Société Asiatique concerning a plan for securing closer relations of mutual helpfulness between the Société Asiatique and our own, be approved by the American Oriental Society, and that the Committee appointed by the President be authorized on behalf of the American Oriental Society to accept these proposals on the same terms as those on which similar proposals were accepted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, so far as those terms are applicable to the case of the Société Asiatique and the American Oriental Society.

Voted: That the action of the President and of the Committee be approved and ratified.

Voted: That the Committee as appointed by the President for the conduct of such business as may be needful for effecting the objects of these votes be a Standing Committee.

These votes and recommendations were laid before the Society as convened in general assembly on Tuesday, April 2, 1918, with due explanations, with a report upon the opinions that had been expressed in the answers to the Circular Letter, and especially upon one dissenting opinion from our honored fellow-member, the Honorable Simeon Eben Baldwin, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut and more recently Governor of the State, and with full opportunity for discussion of the plan and for rejection or modification or acceptance thereof.

The recommendations were accepted by a formal vote of the Society, and with them, the plan itself.

It now remains to give practical effect to these votes so far as the circumstances of the horrible tragedy precipitated by Prussia upon the world will admit, and as soon as this or that step becomes feasible. The first step is to acquaint the members of the Société Asiatique and of the Royal Asiatic Society with what has already been done. To this end, a considerable number of printed copies of the Circular Letter are sent to you herewith in a separate parcel by registered mail, with the suggestion that they be distributed by your Secretary to the members of the French and British Committees concerned and to such other members of the two Societies as may care to see them. The Circular Letter, and the printed Reports upon the subject as published in the first number for 1918 of the Journal of each of the two Societies, together with this Report, form a record, complete up to date, of the negotiations, and also (see page 196 of the English Journal and page 10 of the French) of the substance of the agreements concluded between the three Societies.

All of which is respectfully submitted on behalf of the American Committee.

I have the honor to be, my dear Mr. President, most cordially and faithfully yours, (Signed)

CHARLES R. LANMAN, *Chairman*

Approved and signed also by the other Members of the American Committee:

CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, Boston, Massachusetts

RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Columbia University

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Yale University

MORRIS JASTROW, JR., University of Pennsylvania

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The Oriental Club of Philadelphia has published a small volume entitled *Thirty Years of Oriental Studies*, in commemoration of its thirtieth anniversary held last April. The volume, which is edited by the secretary, Prof. R. G. Kent, contains, along with a Historical Sketch and the Constitution and By-Laws and Membership list of the Club, the following papers and discussions presented at that meeting: 'Thirty Years' Progress in Semitic Studies', by Dr. John P. Peters; a Discussion of that paper, by Prof. Robert W. Rogers; a 'Supplementary Account of Thirty Years' Progress in Semitic Studies and Discussion of Dr. Peters' Paper', by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.; 'Thirty Years of Indo-European Studies', by Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins. Copies of the book can be had upon application to the secretary at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Mr. S. Couling, compiler of the *Encyclopædia Sinica*, hopes to issue a new sinological Review in China, beginning in February next. It will contain papers on the Art, Archæology, History, Religions, Literature, Language, Natural History, etc., of China, and contributions have already been promised by some of the best writers on these subjects, including Professors Henri Cordier, H. A. Giles, E. H. Parker, Messrs. C. W. Campbell, R. L. Hobson, L. C. Hopkins, Dr. Lionel Giles, Rev. A. C. Moule, and others in Europe, while well-known writers in America and China are also expected to contribute. The Review will be issued monthly or else a double number of pages bi-monthly. It can only be begun and continued if subscriptions cover expenses. Mr. Couling will therefore be glad to hear at once from all those who will support the venture for the first year, the subscription being fixed at \$9.00 Mex. or 30/- sterling, post free, payable in advance after receipt of No. 1. Promises to subscribe should be sent to Mr. S. Couling, Shanghai, China.

Announcement is made of the establishment at The Hague of the Club of Friends of Asiatic Art. Its objects are to promote the study of East-Asiatic, Indian, Farther-Indian and Indonesian art: to study museum questions in the Netherlands and their

colonies and to render any assistance possible; and to promote the conservation and acquisition of objects of Oriental art for the Netherlands and their colonies. The officers of the Club are Messrs. H. K. Westendorp, president; G. J. Verburgt, vice-president and treasurer; T. B. Roorda, archivist; Herman E. E. Visser, secretary (54 Bankastraet, The Hague). It is planned to have an Exhibition of East-Asiatic Art at Amsterdam September 15 to October 15, 1919.

Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Association and the Society of Biblical Literature will be held at Columbia University, New York, December 26-28.

PERSONALIA

Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI, of the Sorbonne, an Honorary Member of this Society, is in this country on an educational mission of the French Government. On November 14 he addressed the Oriental Club of Philadelphia on the theme, 'Les études orientales dans une démocratie, et leur organisation internationale.'

It is reported that Dr. LEONARD W. KING is to go on a mission to Syria and Mesopotamia in behalf of the British Museum.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS has resigned from his offices as Recording Secretary and Editor of the Society. Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON is acting in his place as an Editor.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN NEW HAVEN, CONN., 1918

The annual meeting of the Society, being the hundred thirtieth occasion of its assembling, was held in New Haven, Conn., in Lampson Hall, Yale University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 2d, 3d, and 4th, 1918.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:—

Albright	Gellot	Lanman	Reilly
Barret	Grice, Miss	Lent	Schaeffer
Barton	Haas	Lutz	Scheltema
Bates, Mrs.	Haupt	Mann	Schoff
Brown, W. N.	Hopkins	Montgomery	Smith, H. P.
Burlingame	Hussey, Miss	Morgenstern	Snyder
Campbell	Jackson	Newell	Steele
Carnoy	Jackson, Mrs.	Nies, J. B.	Torrey
Clay	Jastrow	Norton, Miss	Tremayne
Dahl	Jewett	Ogden, C. J.	Werren
DeLong	Keiser	Paton	Williams, F. W.
Dougherty	Kent, C. F.	Peters	Winslow
Edgerton	Kent, R. G.	Rabinowitz	Worrell
Gavin	Kukhi		[Total: 54]

The first session was held on Tuesday morning, beginning at 11:10 A. M., the President, Professor Torrey, being in the chair.

The reading of the Proceedings of the meeting in Boston, 1917, was dispensed with, as they had been published in the JOURNAL (37. 1-22). There being no corrections, they were approved as printed.

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Clay, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at two, Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at two, and Thursday morning at half past nine, with a sixth session, if required, on Thursday afternoon at two o'clock. It was announced that the Society was invited to visit the Babylonian Collection of Yale University on Tuesday afternoon at five o'clock; that

ther wud be an informal gathering at the Hotel Taft on Tuesday evening; that the members wer invited to be the guests of the Oriental Club of New Haven at luncheon at the Hotel Taft on Wednesday at one o'clock; and that the annual subscription dinner wud take place at the Hotel Taft on Wednesday evening at seven o'clock.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Franklin Edgerton, presented the folloing report:—

The affairs of the Society ar in a prosperus condition. Our membership continues to sho a helthy increase. Interest in our meetings, as indicated by the attendance and the range of papers presented, grows more and more with evry year. The Middle West Branch, founded a year ago, is as flourishing as the parent Society, as is shown by the report of its Secretary, which has been printed in the Journal (38. 70-75). It is greatly to be hoped that other similar branches wil be founded in other parts of the country; but for the temporary conditions caused by the war, it is probable that one other branch wud alredy be in existence.

The foren correspondence of the Society continues to be at a lo eb on account of the war. The most important matter that has com to the Secretary's attention in this connection is the proposal informally receivd from the French Société Asiatique, thru a personal letter from M. Émile Senart to Professor Lanman, suggesting that closer relations be establisht between the Oriental Societies of these two countries. An arrangement of this sort has alredy been made between the Oriental Societies of France and Great Britain (see *JAOS* 37. 335). This matter has alredy been made known to the members of the Society in a very complete and lucid manner by Professor Lanman's recent circular letter, and wil be laid before the Society at this meeting.

Another matter of great interest to the Society is the fact that the General Court of Massachusetts (as the legislature of that commonwelth is formally styled) has, in compliance with the petition presented to it by our Society (see *JAOS* 37. 20), granted us the privilege of holding our meetings anywhere within the territory of the United States. The act, which became law with its signature by His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts on March 7, 1918, reads as follows:—

AN ACT

To authorize the American Oriental Society to hold its Meetings
Outside the Commonwealth.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in
General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as
follows:*

SECTION 1. Section one of chapter three hundred and thirty-five of the acts of the year eighteen hundred and ninety-one is hereby amended by striking out the words "*provided, however, that said society shall meet within this commonwealth at least once in three years,*" so that said section as amended shall read as follows:—*Section 1.* The American Oriental Society, a corporation organized under the laws of this commonwealth, is hereby authorized to hold its meetings in any state or territory of the United States and in the District of Columbia. ۞

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

The limitation heretofore imposed by the requirement that the Society meet once in every three years in the State of Massachusetts is thus happily removed. The Society's sincere gratitude is due not only to the Governor and General Court of Massachusetts, but also and especially to a group of members who have labored to bring about this result: Mr. Eben Francis Thompson, who drafted the act and argued for its passage; Professor Charles R. Lanman, who, by a very effective speech before the Committee that had the bill in charge, made clear the circumstances requiring greater freedom in the choice of a place of meeting; and Mr. Charles Dana Burroughs, who also had much to do with the passage of the bill in question.

During the past year the Society has lost by death two honorary and six corporate members.

Professor HENDRIK KERN, of Utrecht, Holland, who was elected to honorary membership in 1893, died on July 4, 1917. He had been for many years *facile princeps* among Dutch Indologists, and had trained, directly or indirectly, most of the contemporary scholars in this field in his native country, some of whom—such as the lamented J. J. Speyer—he outlived. His voluminous writings cover so wide a field of Indian and farther-Indian studies and general comparative linguistics that it is impossible to enumerate here even the departments that he made his own. His whole work was characterized by an effective combination of thoroughness and breadth of vision, and his loss will be keenly felt.

EDOUARD CHAVANNES, the great French Sinologist, whom we acquired as an honorary member only last year, died on January 31, 1918. He left unfinished a number of monumental undertakings, although his completed works insure for him a permanent place in the annals of scholarship. [See *JAOS* 38. 202-205.]

RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW, professor of Semitics in Princeton University, died April 14, 1917. He was a scholar of extraordinarily wide attainments, having published works in the fields of Arabic philology, Assyriology, and Greek and Latin epigraphy. He particularly specialized in Oriental geography, and organized at his own expense an expedition to certain parts of the Arabian peninsula which had previously been little known. He became a member of the Society in 1911.

JAMES T. DENNIS, of Baltimore, died on March 31, 1918. His interests were chiefly in Oriental, and especially Egyptian, archeology and antiquities,

and he was a regular attendant at meetings of this Society, which he joined in 1900.

LAWRENCE HEYWORTH MILLS, an American by birth, but for many years professor of Zend Philology at Oxford University, died January 29, 1918. He was born in New York in 1837, and had been a member of the Society since 1881. His extensive writings on subjects connected with the Avesta, Pahlavi literature, and other branches of Iranian filology, made him one of the recognized authorities of the world in this domain. He published a number of his Avestan and Pahlavi studies in our Journal.

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, who was elected to membership in 1906, died in New Haven on December 31, 1917. She was the widow of the distinguished Orientalist of America's earlier days, who was one of the leading members of our Society in its infancy and the teacher of William Dwight Whitney.

EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Collegiate Professor of Greek in Johns Hopkins University, died on February 19, 1918. He had been a member of our Society since 1884. He collaborated with Professor Bloomfield in a number of important studies in comparative grammar.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, professor of Greek in Harvard University, one of the most distinguished classicists of our country, died on May 9, 1917. He became a member of the Society in 1877.

The Society is to be congratulated on the fact that, despite the inevitable number of deaths and resignations, our membership seems to be steadily increasing. The times are, however, not favorable to the quiet works of scholarship. None of us can give the same whole-souled attention to Oriental studies that we could give in happier days. We must make a special effort, however, to keep up the work of our Society, in order that as little permanent injury as possible may come to the sphere of human interests that we represent. Just because it is harder, and just because the danger is pressing, we should be doubly eager and doubly vigilant, even though we have to stimulate ourselves to do by conscious effort what we formerly did as a result of spontaneous enthusiasm. This spirit evidently animates our British and French colleagues in science, as is indicated by their proposals for close co-operation referred to above. Let us join them with whole-hearted vigor and do what we can to help cherish the embers of the sacred fire through the night that has descended upon the civilized world!

Tribute was paid to some of the members whose death was reported: Professor Lanman spoke on Professors Kern and Chavannes; Professor Jackson made appreciative remarks concerning Professor Mills; Professor Jastrow referred to the scholarly work of Professor Brünnow; and Professor Haupt spoke on Professors Chavannes and Spieker and Mr. Dennis.

After a number of announcements by the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Lanman (as chairman of a committee consisting of Professors Gottheil, Hopkins, Jastrow, and Mr. C. D.

Burrage) reported to the Society a recommendation of the Directors for co-operation with the Société Asiatique, in response to a proposal transmitted informally by its president, M. Émile Senart, thru Professor Lanman. [The details are printed elsewhere in this volume of the JOURNAL.] It was voted that the committee be authorized in behalf of the Society to accept the proposals on the same terms as those on which similar proposals had been accepted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, so far as those terms are applicable to the case of the Société Asiatique and the American Oriental Society.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:—

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1917

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1916		\$4079.28
Annual dues	\$1481.72	
Donations to the Library: Mrs. James B. Nies	100.00	
Professor J. R. Jewett	50.00	
Interest on bonds: Virginian Railway Co.	50.00	
Lackawanna Steel Co.	100.00	
Minn. General Electric Co.	50.00	
Interest: Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific	195.84	
Interest on balances	181.11	2208.67
		<hr/>
		\$6287.95

Expenditures

Printing of the Journal: vol. 36, part 2	\$370.79
vol. 36, part 3	369.78
vol. 36, part 4	424.94
vol. 37, part 1	365.68
vol. 37, part 2	321.28
Editors' honorarium	200.00
Subvention, Encyclopedia of Islam (2 years)	100.25
Expenses of the Corresponding Secretary:	
stationery and printing	64.52
postage	15.61
clerical work and miscellaneous expenses	31.16
Expenses of the Treasurer: clerical work and postage	9.19
Expenses of the Library: clerical work and stationery	20.71
classifying Chinese books ..	12.50

Expenses of the Editors: stationery and record cards	\$13.40	
postage	15.00	
Expenses, Middle West Branch	20.00	
Fees for use of rooms, Boston meeting	15.00	
		\$2369.81
Balance to new account		3918.14
		<hr/> \$6287.95

The statement of bonds owned by the Society and of the Society's capitalized funds remains the same as in last year's report (see *JAOS* 37. 6, 8).

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS }
F. W. WILLIAMS } *Auditors*

NEW HAVEN, April 1, 1918.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:—

The Librarian desires to report that during the year the accessions (thirty-two in number, aside from the regular publications) have been catalogued and placed upon the shelves of the library. As reported last year, the work of cataloguing the library has been completed, except for a few books requiring the assistance of a specialist, and the manuscript for the printed catalog is in such shape that it is practically ready for the press. Mrs. James B. Nies has kindly donated \$100, and Professor J. R. Jewett \$50, toward the expense of printing the catalog, but, owing to the pressing needs of suffering humanity, the Librarian did not feel constrained to drive this matter to completion this year. It is not improbable, however, that during the coming year the catalog can be printed and placed in the hands of the members.

The following is a list of the accessions to the library, with the exception of the regular publications:—

- Ayrton, E. R. Pre-dynastic cemetery at El Mahasna. By E. R. Ayrton and W. L. S. Loat. [1911.]
Banerjea, P. Public administration in ancient India. 1916.
Bibolotti, B. Moseteno vocabulary and treatises. 1917.
Cambridge University, Girton college. Catalogue of the printed books and of the Semitic and Jewish manuscripts in the Mary Frere Hebrew library at Girton College, Cambridge. By H. Loewe. [1916?]

- Deccan College, Poona. Descriptive catalogue of the government collections of manuscripts, v. 1, pt. 1. 1916.
- Dominian, L. The frontiers of language and nationality in Europe. 1917.
- The Educational directory of China. 1916.
- Gairdner, W. H. T. Egyptian colloquial Arabic. 1917.
- Halliday, R. The Talaings. 1917.
- al-Himyari, Nashwān ibn Sa'id. Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns im šams al'ulum, gesammelt, alphabetisch geordnet und hrsg. von 'Azimuddīn Aḥmad. 1916. (E. J. W. Gibb memorial series, v. 24.)
- Hira Lāl. Descriptive lists of inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar. 1916.
- Huart, C. Le livre de la création et de l'histoire de Motahhar ben Tāhir el-Maqdisī. Attribué à Abou-Zāid Ahmed Ben Sahl el-Balkhī. Pub. et tr. par C. Huart. 1916.
- Ibn Miskawaih. The Tajārib al-unam, or History of Ibn Miskawayh. By L. Caetani. Vol. 6. 1917. (E. J. W. Gibb memorial series, v. 7, pt. 6.)
- India, Director general of archaeology. An alphabetical index to the classified catalogue of the Director general of archaeology, pt. 1-2. 1917.
- Juvainī, 'Alā ud-Dīn 'Ata Malik. The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā, pt. 2; ed. by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l Wahhāb-i-Qazwīnī. 1916. (E. J. W. Gibb memorial series, v. 16, pt. 2.)
- Kohler, K. Jewish theology. 1918.
- Krishna Sastri, H. South-Indian images of gods and goddesses. 1916.
- Laufer, B. The language of the Yüeh-chi, or Indo-Scythians. 1917.
- Longhurst, A. H. Hampi ruins. 1917.
- Margolis, M. L. The story of Bible translations. 1917.
- Mills, L. An exposition of the lore of the Avesta. 1916.
- Narasimhachar, R. Architecture and sculpture in Mysore, no. 1. The Kesava temple at Somanathapur. 1917.
- Naville, É. H. The XIth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari, pt. II. 1910.
- Naville, É. H. The temple of Deir al-Bahari, pt. V. [1906.]
- Notz, W. Monopolies in the ancient Orient. (Reprint from *Bibliotheca Sacra*.)
- The Oxyrhynchus papyri, pt. VII, ed. by A. S. Hunt. 1910.
- Palestine exploration fund. Annual report. 1916.
- Quackenbos, G. P. The Sanskrit poems of Mayūra. 1917. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. 9.)
- Reformed church in America, Board of foreign missions. 85th annual report. 1917.
- Seidenadel, C. W. The first grammar of the language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot. 1909.
- Société d'Etudes océaniques (Polynésie orientale). Bulletin no. 1, March, 1917.
- The Holy Scriptures. A translation of the Masoretic text. (Jewish Publication Society of America.) 1917.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professor James A. Montgomery and Dr. George C. O. Haas, was presented by Professor Montgomery, as follows:—

In 1917 five issues of the Journal were published, part 4 of vol. 36 and the four parts of vol. 37. The year of publication is now identical with the calendar year, and the Journal will hereafter appear in five parts, in February, April, June, October, and December. The business distress and the imperfect state of much of the copy submitted have unfortunately delayed the appearance of the parts.

In view of the constantly increasing cost of printing the Journal, it may be necessary during the coming year to make a slight reduction in the number of pages in the volume. For the same reason it is most essential that the number of changes in proof be kept at the lowest possible point, and that all needless expense for the setting of special characters and foreign words be avoided. Contributors can do much to lighten the labor of the Editors by preparing their copy with the utmost care, in conformity with the style of the Journal, and by leaving ample space between the lines.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The folloing persons, recommended by the Directors, wer elected members of the Society:—

HONORARY MEMBERS

M. François Thureau-Dangin, of Paris
Professor Arthur Anthony Macdonell, of Oxford

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Mr. Francis C. Ansecombe	Dr. D. I. Macht
Mr. T. A. Bird	Prof. Wm. Romaine Newbold
Mr. Milton Brooks	Miss Ruth Norton
Prof. Camden M. Cobern	Rabbi David Philipson
Prof. George Dahl	Mr. John Reilly, Jr.
Rev. Raymond P. Dougherty	Hon. Paul S. Reinseh
Dr. Israel I. Efros	Rev. Paul W. Sims
Rabbi Harry W. Ettelson	Mr. K. N. Sitharaman
Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof	Dr. Louise P. Smith
Prof. Robert F. Gribble	Dr. David B. Spooner
Mr. K. K. Haddaway	Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim
Mr. Florin Howard Jones	Rev. Archibald Tremayne
Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan	Mr. Tseh Ling Tsu
Rabbi Jacob Z. Lauterbach	Mrs. F. W. Williams
Mr. Lindsay B. Longacre	Rev. Wm. F. Wunsch

The report of the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year was presented by Professor R. G. Kent. It was voted to postpone action on this report and to leave it in the hands of the committee, to await the result of deliberations of the Directors regarding representation of the Middle West Branch in the list of officers.

The President then delivered the annual address, the subject being 'The Outlook for American Oriental Studies' [printed in the *JOURNAL*, 38. 107-120]. Thereafter, at 12:58 P. M., the Society took a recess until the time appointed for the afternoon session.

SECOND SESSION

The second session began at 2:15 P. M., with the President in the chair. In accordance with the program, the Society proceeded at once to the hearing of communications, in the following order:—

Professor A. T. CLAY, of Yale University: The so-called Arabian origin of the Semites.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Haupt, and Worrell.

The generally accepted theory that the original home of the Semites was in Arabia, and that they deposited themselves periodically layer upon layer in the surrounding lands, can not stand in the light of history and tradition; with the exception of the conquest of Islam in the Christian Era, all evidence and tradition show that Arabia was settled from the north.

Dr. E. N. RABINOWITZ, of Baltimore: The general character of the Midrash Hag-gadol to Leviticus.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: A previously not noted parallel between an apocryphal story of Zoroaster's infancy and a tale in Buddhist literature.—Discussion by Professor Hopkins, Dr. Burlingame, Dr. Brown, and Professor Morgenstern.

The story is that of the miraculous rescue from death of an infant destined for future greatness, but against whose life enemies plot. The child is saved from the feet of a herd of kine by the bull, who protects the infant between his four hoofs while the herd passes. This is told of Zoroaster in Pahlavi apocryphal gospel stories, ca. 900 A.D., and in the Persian Zartüšt Nāmāh, ca. 1200 A.D.; and of the merchant Ghosaka in Pāli Buddhist texts, *Manorathapūraṇi* and *Dhammapada* commentary, ca. 430 A.D., etc. The story belongs to both Indian and Persian story literature.

Dr. H. F. LUTZ, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) A new Cassite liver-inspection text; (b) An omen-text referring to the action of a dreamer.—Comments by Professors Jastrow, Clay, and Montgomery.

(a) [Printed in the *JOURNAL*, 38. 77-96.]

(b) Translation and interpretation of a cuneiform tablet in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, bringing to light a new 'leaf' of a textbook on oneiromancy. It contains dreams in which the dreamer beholds certain movements of his body. Side by side with each possible dream of that kind runs an interpretation of the dream, 86 being thus enumerated.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of Yale University: Pāli originals of some Jātaka stories, and their manipulation by the Cingalese redactor. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 38. 267.]—Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, of Yale University: Date formulae of the Larsa Dynasty.—Remarks by Professor Clay.

The numerous records in the Yale Babylonian Collection include many date formulae valuable for the reconstruction of the history of the Larsa Dynasty. There have been discovered about 20 new dates, amplifications of briefer formulae already known, and material for correcting conjectural readings of illegible published texts. The order of the formulae for the last 5 years of Warad-Sin and the first 4 of Rim-Sin and of other groups of two or three years can be shown, together with the fact that the Isin era was at the close of Rim-Sin's reign. In addition are found synchronisms of rulers of the Larsa Dynasty with a king of Isin and with some rulers of Erech, including one hitherto unknown king.

Professor MARY I. HUSSEY, of Mt. Holyoke College: A galet of Eannatum in the Harvard Semitic Museum. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 38. 264-266.]

The Society then adjourned for the day, at 4:25 P. M.

THIRD SESSION

The third session was opened at 9:34 A. M. on Wednesday morning, in Lampson Hall, with the President in the chair.

The Society proceeded at once to the hearing of communications, in the following order:—

Rev. J. E. SNYDER, of Johns Hopkins University: Cosmogonic echoes in the Psalter.—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Berosus says that Bel cut Tiamat asunder, and of one half of her he formed the earth and of the other half the heavens. Similarly we find in Psalm 24. 3: 'From the huge carcass (*mippagre*) of the slain monster (*holalim*; cf. Gesenius § 52, s) Thou didst found a fastness (the firmament) because of Thy foes (the helpers of Rahab).' We find the same corruption (*olel* for *holel*) in Judges 20. 45. The unintelligible *tena* in Psalm 8. 3 is a miswriting for *taggih* 'Thou causest to shine.' Psalm 8 must be preceded by Psalm 24. 1, 2, and Psalm 24. 7-10 is the conclusion of Psalm 21.

Professor A. J. CARNOY, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Old Persian periphrastic perfect. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]—Discussion

by Dr. Ogden, Professors R. G. Kent, Edgerton, Haupt, Torrey, and Dr. Albright.

Professor A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: The transliteration of Old Egyptian. (Presented for the author by Dr. Albright.)—Remarks by Professor Haupt.

The Semitic character of Egyptian is much obscured by the unfortunate system of transliteration used by the leading Egyptologists. The paper suggests letters and symbols to represent the letters of the Egyptian alphabet, as well as a system of transliteration in Hebrew characters.

Professor F. EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) A Hindism in Sanskrit; (b) The metafor of the car as applied to the Rigvedic ritual.—Discussion by Professors Lanman, Haupt, Carnoy, and Kent.

(a) [Printed in the JOURNAL, 38. 206-207.]

(b) The 'car' mentiond in RV. 10. 53. 7 is usually supposed to be a literal car. It is on the contrary a metaforic expression for the ritual performance. A hymn may be compared to a car because of its intricat construction (also compared to the work of weaving, etc.); Soma, because of swift motion and because it brings welth; varius ritualistic entities, because (like cars at fords) they carry one across streams (of difficulties). These different avenues unite and lead to the concept of the entire ritual performance as a car.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The mouth of the rivers; (b) Some cruces in the Langdon Epic.—Remarks by Professors Jastrow and Haupt.

(a) The Sumerian expression *id-kana* meant primarily 'source of the rivers,' to judge from purely philological considerations. Starting here, various ideas regarding the two rivers and their sources are examined from geographical, cosmological, and ritualistic points of view, whence it appears, e.g., that Mt. Hashur is Kashiari-Masius, that Tilmun is correctly identified with Tylos-Bahreïn, that Eridu in the incantations is often a synonym of Apsu, just as Kutu is of Aralu, and has nothing to do with Eden. The role of Tammuz and Ishtar as river-gods is also considered, as well as related Egyptian, Iranian, and Biblical conceptions.

(b) The principal passages treated are Obv. II, 9-11; Obv. III, 9-12 = 29-32; Rev. II as a whole, with special attention to 15-18, 37-38, 44-47.

Rev. F. GAVIN, of Harvard University: Aphraates and Jewish controversy.

The controversial homilies of Aphraates (fl. 336-350) show a remarkable acquaintance with Jewish thought, tradition, and exegesis, with which they have much in common. On further examination it is seen that the controversy but symbolized a deeper radical divergence on fundamental conceptions which is not entirely articulate. It would seem that the Persian church was in the way of evolving a theology and method of presentation proper to its own genius, independent of

Jewish thought in fundamentals, and entirely free from Latin or Greek domination in its method of self-expression.

Dr. W. N. BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: Bluff in Hindu fiction.—Comments by Professor Worrell, Father Gavin, and Mr. Scheltema.

A frequent motif in Hindu fiction is bluff, generally used to point the moral that 'brain beats brawn.' Thus men and weak but quick-witted animals often escape threatening lions, tigers, or demons by putting on a bold front and themselves taking the offensive. There are many stories motivated by 'accidental bluff.' A strong animal or demon fearing an unknown (and often imaginary) creature identifies it with the hero, who is innocent of intent to bluff, and without resistance submits to his will. Often an attempted bluff fails because the would-be perpetrator lacks the moral strength to support his assumed part.

Dr. G. S. DUNCAN, of Johns Hopkins University: The interpretation of the Biblical apocalypses. (Read in abstract by the Corresponding Secretary.)

Biblical apocalypses were not meant as prophecies, but as consolations in time of hardship and persecution. Daniel and Revelation refer to contemporary powers under images understood only by initiates, for the sake of safety, and express the confident hope that oppression will not always prevail.

Thereupon, at 12:16 P. M., the Society took a recess until the time appointed for the afternoon session.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was opened at 2:17 P. M., with the President in the chair. The reading of communications was resumed, as follows:—

Professor L. B. PATON, of Hartford Theological Seminary: The holy places of ancient Canaan.—Comments by Professors Carnoy, Clay, Jastrow, De Long, Morgenstern, and Montgomery.

It is known that the ancient Canaanites worshiped in many sanctuaries, called 'high places,' which were inherited by the Israelites and reconsecrated to their national God. The determination of these sanctuaries is important for archeology and the history of religion. Criteria by which they may be recognized are: (1) names of deities used in compounding the names of places; (2) natural sanctuaries at these places, such as volcanic activity, mountains, caves, springs, and trees; (3) divine activity at these places; (4) holy objects, such as stones, altars, images, ark, temples, etc.; (5) names indicating that places are sanctuaries; (6) sacred persons connected with these places; (7) sacred actions occurring there.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The background of

totemism. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 38. 145-159.]—Remarks by Dr. Scheltema.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Circe and Astarte; (b) Melchizedek, legitimate king.—Remarks by Professors Morgenstern and Jastrow.

(a) The prototype of Circe is Istar in the Babylonian Nimrod epic. The spouse of her youth, Tammuz-Adonis, died and is lamented every year. She loved a shepherd-bird, i.e. a rose-starling, also a lion and a horse; she transformed a shepherd into a wolf, and her father's gardener into an ox to be slaughtered. Assyr. *tallalê* denotes the butcher's helpers who throw the ox down (cf. *hôriâ*, Jer. 51. 40) before its throat is cut (cf. Arab. *talil* = Talmud. *rabûq*).

(b) Melchizedek is a purely fictitious personage, based on misinterpretation of the term *malkî-šadq* 'rightful king' in Psalm 110, which refers to Zerubbabel (cf. ZAT 34. 142). Therefore Melchizedek is 'without father, without mother, without genealogy' (Heb. 7. 3; contrast Knudtzon, *Amarna*, p. 1333, l. 5). Gen. 14 was written for the purpose of encouraging the followers of Zerubbabel in rebellion against Darius Hystaspis, but the Melchizedek episode is a subsequent insertion added at the time when the high-priest had become the head of the Jewish nation after the removal of Zerubbabel in 519 B.C. (*OLZ* 18. 71).

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On the life and stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha. (Presented in abstract by the Corresponding Secretary.)

An account of the author's work on Pārśvanātha, which deals with one of the several Caritas, or Lives. This contains an account of nine prebirths and one final birth of P.; in each prebirth the saint is killed by a hostile brother, who is finally converted in the last birth. On this frame is hung a chain of stories, many of the very first rank, a goodly number of them known elsewhere. Extremely important for *nīti*-stanzas; there are a thousand or more, many of them contained in the *Indische Sprüche*, but a large number new and excellent in spiciness of flavor.

Professor W. H. WORRELL, of Hartford Seminary Foundation: The demon of noonday and some related ideas. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 38. 160-166.]—Remarks by Dr. Albright.

Professor M. JASTROW, JR., of the University of Pennsylvania: Gilgamesh and Enkidu.—Discussion by Professors Haupt, Clay, Carnoy, and De Long; additional remarks by the author.

A revised translation, based on a new collation of the text, of a new fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic, in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, published by Dr. Langdon. This forms part of the older Babylonian version, which differs largely from the later Assyrian one. Our fragment deals with the meeting of Gilgamesh with Enkidu. Gilgamesh and Enkidu are represented as counterparts, 'heavenly twins' of Babylonia, indistinguishable in appearance, which indicates their

original identity. Enkidu is the older, entirely Sumerian; his traits are transferred to Gilgamish, who is partly Sumerian, partly Akkadian. The relationship of the form Gish to various other forms of the name, Gish-bil-ga-mish, Gir-bil-ga-mish, Gilgamish, Gish-tu-bar, etc., is explained.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: The Buddhist sacred texts: a plea for the prompt undertaking of the work of making the most ancient ones accessible to the Occident, with a word as to methods and helps.—Appreciative remarks by a Hindu student present by invitation, and by Professors Montgomery and Nies.

As the East is now our neighbor, we must strive to understand and respect it aright. The Orientalist must act as the interpreter of the East to the West. The Buddhist sacred books contain the teachings of the Buddha, one of the world's greatest religious guides. The oldest are the four Nikāyas ('Collections'): Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta, and Aṅguttara. Of these, only one (the Dīgha) has been translated into English, and even of that only two-thirds. Yet these teachings, in their quaint simplicity, are strikingly instructive and absolutely good as guides for modern life, individual and international. Remarks on the methods to be employed in translating them, and on the helps now available.

Professor J. MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: Palm Sunday.—Remarks by Professors Haupt and Barton.

The characteristic rite, in both ancient and modern times, was the carrying of palm or other branches in sacred procession. These were generally kept after the festival to guard against sickness and misfortune. This festival was regarded as the close of the annual period when ghosts revisit relatives. It is a popular belief that on Palm Sunday the walled-in Golden Gate of the Temple at Jerusalem will be re-opened to admit the Messiah. Palm Sunday originally the opening day of the ancient Canaanite Mazzoth festival and other corresponding Semitic festivals; in its celebration the greeting of the spring equinoctial sun was an important rite. Solar ceremonies in Ezek. 8. 16 ff., cf. Ezek. 43. 1-3.

It was suggested that a message of greeting be sent to Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, for sixty years a member of the Society, and the Corresponding Secretary was requested to do this in the name of the Society.

The Society then adjourned for the day, at 5:50 P. M.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session began at 9:43 A. M. on Thursday morning, with the President in the chair.

It was announced for the Directors that the next annual meeting

wud be held at Philadelphia on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 22d, 23d, and 24th, 1919.

On motion, the folloing resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, that the American Oriental Society record its grateful appreciation of the action of the Governor and the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in complying with the wishes of the Society as to the removal of the requirement for a meeting once every three years in Massachusetts; and further,

Resolved, that the special thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Eben Francis Thompson, Professor Charles R. Lanman, and Mr. Charles Dana Burrage, for their effective aid in bringing about this result.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had sent the message of good wishes to Professor Gildersleeve, as instructed by the Society. It was voted that a message of greeting be sent to Mr. Addison Van Name, for many years the Society's librarian, and Professor F. W. Williams was askt to visit Mr. Van Name and deliver it in person.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1918-1919

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1918-1919, consisting of Professors Schmidt, R. G. Kent, and Worrell, whose report, presented at the first session, had been left in their hands for such modification as might be required by action of the Directors, presented an amended report, as follows:—

President—Professor James Henry Breasted, of Chicago.

Vice Presidents—Professor Henry Hyvernatt, of Washington;

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York;

Professor Julian Morgenstern, of Cincinnati.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

Editors of the Journal—Professor James A. Montgomery, of Philadelphia;

Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

Directors, term expiring 1921—

Professor Maurice Bloomfield of Baltimore;

Professor Albert TenEyck Olmstead, of Urbana, Ill.;

Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

The officers thus nominated wer thereupon duly elected. The President then announst the folloing appointments:—

Committee of Arrangements for 1919: Professors Jastrow, Margolis, R. G. Kent, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professors Jewett, Paton, and De Long.

Auditors: Professors F. W. Williams and Hopkins.

On motion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, that the American Oriental Society communicate its cordial appreciation to the authorities of Yale University for welcoming the Society to Lampson Hall, to the Oriental Club of New Haven for its generous hospitality, to the Graduate Club for courtesies extended, and to the Committee of Arrangements and the local members for the thoughtful provision made for the comfort and entertainment of those attending the meeting.

The reading of papers was then resumed, as follows:—

Rev. Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: (a) The origin of the sign MAŠ; (b) A pre-Sargonic inscription on limestone [printed in the *JOURNAL*, 38. 188-196].—Comments by Professors Haupt, Morgenstern, Barton, and Jastrow.

Rev. Dr. R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Yale University: The *Shirqātu* of Erech.

Tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, found at Erech and dated in the reign of Nabonidus, throw interesting light on the *shirqātu*, a class of individuals dedicated to the Belit of Erech to perform menial service. They were marked with the *kakkabtu u arratu*. In one case the mark is called *kakkabtu shendu*, which, according to other tablets, was also used to brand animals belonging to the deity.

Dr. C. E. KEISER, of Yale University: The Patesis of the Ur Dynasty.—Comments by Dr. Nies and Professors Jastrow and Barton.

A study of the many published texts, including those in the Yale Babylonian Collection, dated in the reigns of the kings of the Ur Dynasty furnishes not only historical data for the reconstruction of a chronological list of the so-called patesis of most of the important cities of Babylonia (in the case of some of these places practically complete, in the case of others only partial), but also the names of new patesis and additional dates, as well as material relative to the status, duties, etc., of these officials.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: On certain passages in the so-called Gospel of Peter.—Comments by Professors Edgerton and Barton.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Roman soldiers in India?—Remarks by Mr. Scheltema.

It was voted to limit the time of the subsequent papers to five minutes and to dispense with the reading of abstracts.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The volcano in Engidu's dreams; (b) Assyrian *Amurru*, Mediterranean.—Comments by Professors Jastrow and Clay.

(a) The dreams which Engidu had before he and Gilgames slew the Elamite Humbaba were joyful and pleasing; *šāšat* is connected with Heb. *šāsôn* 'joy.' The second dream refers to a rock-avalanche: Humbaba will fall in the same way. The third dream describes a volcanic eruption: the heavens thundered, the earth rumbled, daylight failed, darkness set in, lightning flashed, fire flared up, (cinders) showered down, it rained death. (Then there was) light again, the fire was quenched, (and the cinders that) had fallen turned to vapor (*NE* 58. 15-20). Humbaba will flare up, but he will be quelled.

(b) Amurru is an ancient Assyrian name for the Mediterranean. It is connected with Assyr. *amirānu* and *tāmertu* 'reservoir' and *ammaru* 'abundance' (*AJSL* 26. 23, n. 47). The name Gomorrah is derived from the same stem. *Amurru* denotes 'a great body of water' (Arab. *ghamrah*). Like Heb. *yam* 'sea,' *Amurru* is used also for 'west.' The Sumerian equivalent *mar-tu* signifies 'place of sunset' (*OLZ* 17. 422). Not only the Philistines, but also the Phenicians and the Amorites were pre-Hellenic invaders from the Aegean islands, including Crete (*WF* 200).

President Hadley, of Yale University, then made a brief address of welcome, in the course of which he referred to the Society's part in the history of American scholarship [printed in the *JOURNAL*, 38. 142-143].

Professor J. MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati: Kedesh-Naphtali and Taanach.

Jud. 4 is a composite narrative, based upon older traditions of two distinct battles. Kedesh-Naphtali was fought by Zebulun and Naphtali against the Canaanites near the Waters of Merom. This resulted in the Israelite conquest of the tableland of Naphtali and the permanent federation of Zebulun and Naphtali. Later Issachar joined the federation. Taanach was fought later by six Israelite tribes under Barak and Deborah against Sisera and allied Canaanite city-states in the Kishon Valley. Two leagues of Israelite tribes acted in concert: the northern league of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar, and the southern league of Ephraim, Machir or Manasseh, and Benjamin. Victory welded these two leagues into one. Later this was federated by David with a similar southern coalition, and the nation, Israel, resulted.

At 11:48 A. M. the Society adjourned, to meet again in Philadelphia, April 22d, 1919.

The following communications were presented by title:—

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: (a) Eknāth, the Mahārāshtra saint and poet; (b) The derivation of the word *palanquin*.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT: Some Hebrew and Assyrian etymologies.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE: The government publications on the dialects of the Igorot of the Philippine Islands.

Dr. W. N. BROWN: Proselyting the Asuras.

Dr. E. CHIERA: Sha-gi-pad-da, a new king of Ur?

Professor A. T. CLAY: (a) A new series of transliterations and translations of ancient Semitic inscriptions; (b) Humbaba the Amorite.

Professor C. E. CONANT: The pluralizing infix *g* of certain Philippine languages.

Dr. I. EFROS: The Menorat ha-Maor: place and date of composition.

Professor A. EMBEE: (a) One hundred new Semito-Egyptian words; (b) Metathesis in Egyptian.

Dr. E. M. GRICE: Note on SA-GAZ.

Dr. F. v. OEFELE: An idea about quicker understanding between philologists and other depending scholars.

Dr. J. J. PRICE: (a) Notes on a few unknown Persian words; (b) Notes on Dashtana and D'bir.

Professor J. D. PRINCE: Tatar material in Old Russian.

Dr. J. F. SCHELTEMA: Arabia and the war.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIHER, vii Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. LEONARD W. KING, British Museum, London, England. 1917.
- Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
- Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kaiser-Friedrichstr. 32.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.) 1910.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.
- FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.
- Prof. JULIUS WELHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.
- Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890.

[Total: 25]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Beach, Va. 1915.
 Dr. THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN, 5547 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 FRANCIS C. ANSCOMBE, 2712 Oak St., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 SHIGERI ARAKI, 102 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER, 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD (Andover Theol. Seminary), 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 Q. M. Sgt. CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Box 182, Watts, Cal. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 LEMONT BARBOUR, 440 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 418 West 20th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 *SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, Deccan College, Poona, via Bombay, India. 1914.
 Miss EFFIE BENDANN, 420 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 E. BEN YEHUDA, 473 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1916.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 CARL W. BISHOP, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 7 Carroll Road, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
 Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, 804 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.

- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Lutherville, Md. 1916.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, The Seneca, Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- GUSTAV VON BRAUCHITSCH, 87 Middle Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, B. I. 1918.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN (Transylvania College), 642 Headley Ave., Lexington, Ky. 1909.
- Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, 416 Mowbray Arch, Norfolk, Va. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- LUDLOW S. BULL, 5344 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME (Yale Univ.), 1305 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Dr. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 257 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Dr. EUGENE H. BYRNE, 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- J. DUDLEY CARROLL, 1032 Forest Ave., Memphis, Tenn. 1915.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, Care of Open Court, La Salle, Ill. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 3437 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- HWANG CHUNG-HUEI, Hotel Nottingham, Boston, Mass. 1915.
- ARTHUR H. CLARK, Caxton Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, 24 North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1918.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 4100 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.

- *GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins University), 1027 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1905.
Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
EDWIN SANFORD CRANDON, 36 Bowdoin St., Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple Ave., Merchantville, N. J. 1910.
Prof. GEORGE DAHL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1918.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, 3600 Wilson Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Haidarabad, India. 1915.
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
LOUIS A. DOLE, Urbana, Ohio. 1916.
LEON DOMINIAN, American Geographical Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
Rev. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 2900 7th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Danby Road, Ithaca, N. Y. 1917.
Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS, 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
Dr. ISRAEL I. EFROS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1916.
Rabbi HARRY W. ETTELSON, Ph.D., 260 Sisson Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1918.
Prof. C. P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.

- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 91 Arlington St., Newton, Mass. 1900.
- Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. FONCK, Instituto Biblico Pontifico, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.
- Rev. Dr. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
- Prof. JOHN FRYER, 2620 Durant Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1917.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Miss MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Russell Sage Hall, Appleton, Wis. 1915.
- Dr. CARL GAENSSLE, 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Rev. FRANK GAVIN, St. Francis House, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, So. Philadelphia High School, Broad and Jackson Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Rev. F. GEORGELIN, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D. C. 1916.
- Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
- Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins University), 1002 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. GODBEY, 1390 Granville Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 25 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1907.
- Miss BELLE DA COSTA GREENE, 33 East 36th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin, Tex. 1918.
- Miss ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 518 W. 140th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.

- K. K. HADDAWAY, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, Care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebr. 1912.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
 EDWARD A. HENRY, Box 217, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Leopoldstr. 8, München, Germany. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH, 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 PHILIP K. HITT (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 *Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 Dr. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, U. S. Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 SOLOMON T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
 FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 3038 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
 FLORIN HOWARD JONES, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1918.
 Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 E. Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.

- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1908.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Dr. FREDERICK T. KELLY, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 415 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, 5238 Westminster Place, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Dr. K. KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- GEORGE S. S. KUKHI, 30 Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 347, Beulah, N. Dak. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Rabbi JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1918.
- Rabbi MORRIS S. LAZARON, 1712 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. FREDERICK LENT, 195 Livingston St., New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Dr. GERSON B. LEVI, 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rev. H. LINFIELD, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Hainholzweg 44, Göttingen, Germany. 1912.
- LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, Hiff School of Theology, Denver, Colo. 1918.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, University of Pa. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. HENRY F. LUTZ, 4314 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- *BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- FREDERICK MCCORMICK (Asiatic Institute), 27 West 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.

- Prof. J. F. McCURDY, 255 Fort Washington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Dr. D. I. MACHT, Dep't of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- WALTER A. MAIER, 70 Toptiff St., Dorchester, Mass. 1917.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 757 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 6501 Wayne Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Meadville Theological Seminary), 502 Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Rev. FREDERIC C. MEREDITH, 32 Kita-kuruwa Cho, Maebashi, Jochu, Japan. 1914.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- BENJAMIN BURGESS MOORE, 109 East 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Dr. RILEY D. MOORE, Div. of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 863 Hutchins Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4325 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. W. R. NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.

- *Mrs. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
 Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Miss RUTH NORTON, 3026 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 901 S. Busey Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
- †*ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Woodley, Woodley Lane, Washington, D. C. 1917.
- T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
- PAUL POPENOE, 511 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, 94 Fairview Ave., Plainfield, N. J. 1917.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, 801 Jackson St., Gary, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- E. N. RABINOWITZ, 125 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- G. A. REICHLING, 388 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.

- Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- Prof. GEORGE H. RICHARDSON, Peru, Ind. 1917.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.
- Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Dr. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 417 West 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
- Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Rev. Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER, 19 Southampton St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Box 998, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1906.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
- WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- Prof. H. SCHUMACHER, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
- Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
- *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
- O. R. SELLERS, Lexington, Mo. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY B. SHARMAN, Truro, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
- CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Rev. PAUL W. SIMS, 242 Fitzwater St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
- Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. 1907.
- Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
- Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Ellicott City, Md. 1916.
- Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Sup't Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, Patna (Head P. O.), B. I. 1918.

- Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
 REUBEN STEINBACH, 114 S. Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
 Rabbi EMMANUEL STERNHEIM, Sioux City, Iowa. 1918.
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Woodbridge Hall, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
 Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
 Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
 Rev. HENRY SWIFT, Plymouth, Conn. 1914.
 WALTER T. SWINGLE, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 Rabbi SIDNEY TEDESHE, 205 Bay 29th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
 Miss MARGARET THOMAS, 20 Gloucester St., Boston, Mass. 1915.
 EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
 Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
 Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.
 *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
 Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
 Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, South Meriden, Conn. 1918.
 TSEH LING TSU, 1201 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill. 1918.
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
 ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
 Dr. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
 Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
 Rev. SAMUEL W. WASS, 2987 Perry Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
 Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 †Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD, 30 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1903.
 ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
 Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
 JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
 *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
 HERBERT L. WILLETT, 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, 2112 Los Angeles Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
 Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
 Mrs. F. W. WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
 Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
 Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, Xenia, Ohio. 1911.
 HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
 Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
 Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 25 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
 Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
 Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD, 1606 Minnehaha St., St. Paul, Minn. 1917.
 Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Miss MARGUERITE WOODWARD, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Prof. WILLIAM H. WORRELL (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 179 Whitney St., Hartford, Conn. 1910.
 Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Rev. Dr. ROYDEN K. YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Merion, Pa. 1916.
 Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.
 Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911. [Total: 361]

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 CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Museum of Natural History.
 Hibbard Egyptian Library.
 NEW YORK: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.
 Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penn.
 WASHINGTON, D. C.: Archaeological Institute of America.
 WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

EUROPE

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA:** Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 K. u. K. Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek.
 (Josephsplatz 1.)
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
 Geographische Gesellschaft.
- PRAGUE:** Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK:** University Library.
- FRANCE, PARIS:** Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
 Bibliothèque Nationale.
 Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
 Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
- FRANCE, PARIS:** École Française d'extrême Orient. (28, rue Bonaparte.)
 Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
- GERMANY, BERLIN:** Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Königliche Bibliothek.
 Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughause 1.)
- DARMSTADT:** Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.
- GÖTTINGEN:** Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- HALLE:** Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstrasse 50.)
 Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein für Sachsen und Thüringen.
- KIEL:** Universitäts-Bibliothek.
- LEIPZIG:** Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- MUNICH:** Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- TÜBINGEN:** Library of the University.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON:** Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
 Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S. W.)
 Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W. C.)
 Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N. W.)
 E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. (46 Great Russell St.)
 Palestine Exploration Fund. (2 Hinde St., Manchester Square.)
- ITALY, BOLOGNA:** Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.
- FLORENCE:** Società Asiatica Italiana.
- ROME:** Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
 Istituto Biblico Pontificio.

- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut."
LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
S'GRAVENHAGE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en
Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië.
RUSSIA, FINLAND, HELSINGFORS: Soci  t   Finno-Ougrienne.
PETROGRAD: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologiji Institut.
SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

ASIA

- CHINA, SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
TONKIN:   cole Fran  aise d'extr  me Orient (Rue de Coton),
Hanoi.
INDIA, ALLAHABAD: Allahabad Public Library.
BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)
BENARES: Benares Sanskrit College, "The Pandit."
CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
Sanskrit College.
DELHI: Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
Education.
LAHORE: Library, University of the Punjab.
MADRAS: Oriental Manuscripts Library.
Presidency College.
SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Ben-
more, Simla, Punjab.)
Secretary to the Government of India, Department of
Education, Simla.
SIAM, BANGKOK: Siam Society.
Vajira  ana National Library.
CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
KOREA, SEOUL: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
NEW ZEALAND, NEW PLYMOUTH: The Polynesian Society.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, MANILA: The Ethnological Survey.
Philippine Library.
SYRIA, JERUSALEM: The American School. (Care U. S. Consul.)
SIBERIA, VLADIVOSTOK: Oriental Institute.
HAWAII, HONOLULU: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

AFRICA

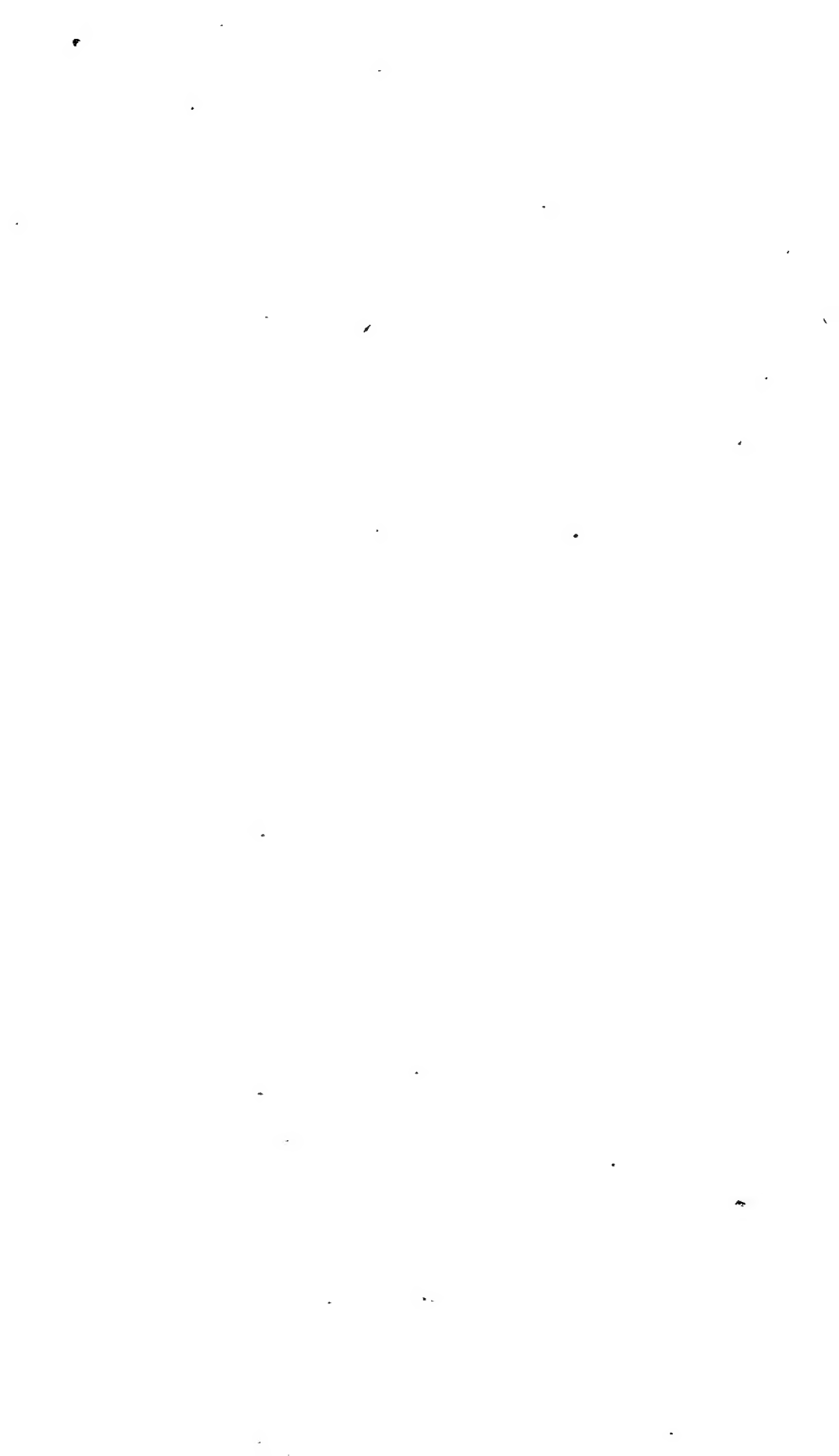
- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

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 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).
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 Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, Herzogstrasse 8, Munich, Bavaria).
 Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. C. P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.).
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 Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari Asram (Allahabad), Bahadurgany (India).
 Siddhanta Dipika Office, Madras, N. C. (India).
 Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (Colombo, Ceylon).
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 Indian Text Series (care of J. Murray, Albemarle St., London, England).
 Bibliotheca Buddhica (Petrograd, Russia).
 Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Dr. Karl Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany).
 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenenthurmstr. 15, Vienna, Austria).
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

See

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